

The first four volumes, including those concerned with Spinoza, of this new enlarged [?] edition are identical with the first edition of 1770 ff. (527).

- 536 **Zur Geschichte und Litteratur.** Aus den Schaetzen der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbuettel. Erster (-sechster) Beytrag von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (vol. 5: und Johann Joachim Eschenburg). Braunschweig: Fuerstliche Waysenhaus-Buchhandlung, 1773–1781. 6 vols. 258 p.; [1] l., p. 261–515; [1] l., 259 p.; [2] l., p. 263–543, [1] p.; 261 p.; 560 p. 21 ½ cm.

Hermann Samuel Reimarus (463) was openly a mild deist, but when he died he left a manuscript containing a radical critique of revelation and Christianity. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), the great German enlightener, who was a friend of Reimarus' son and daughter, received the manuscript from them while he was librarian at the Ducal Library of Wolfenbuettel, and published fragments in various volumes of *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, a collection of manuscripts from the Library. Reimarus' manuscript was, so-to-speak, smuggled into this collection although it was never part of it.

The third volume contains Reimarus' "Von Duldung der Deisten" (pp. 195–226); the fourth, "Ein Mehreres aus den Papieren des Ungenannten, die Offenbarung betreffend," filling with a postscript by Lessing the entire volume. Lessing pretended he did not know the identity of the author who, in the controversies that soon arose, was referred to as the "Wolfenbuetteler Fragmentist."

While in his published works, such as *Die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der naturlichen Religion*, 1754 (463), Reimarus rejects Spinoza the way Wolff did, he follows Spinoza, even going beyond him, in his secret writings which reject the divine origin of the Old Testament, Christian revelation, and the dogmatic system of Christianity (see Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, 1893, pp. 43 ff.).

1774

- 537 **La Mettrie**, Julien Offroy de. *Oeuvres philosophiques* . . . Nouvelle edition, corrigée & augmentée. Amsterdam, 1774. 3 vols. [2] l., 282, 2 p.; 8, 304 p.; 12, 323, [1] p. 14 cm.

The first volume of La Mettrie's *Oeuvres philosophiques* contains the "Abrégé des systèmes pour faciliter l'intelligence du Traité de l'âme" (pp. 233–282). This seemingly separate work is nothing more than the somewhat enlarged annotations appearing on pp. 209–337 of the first edition of the *Traité de l'âme*, published in 1745 under the title *Histoire naturelle de l'âme* (406). La Mettrie's review of Spinoza's system has lost some of its critical tone (pp. 267 ff.).

- 538 **Turretini**, Johann Alphons. *Opera omnia theologica, philosophica et philologica*. Louvain et Franequer: H.A. de Chalmot et D. Romar, 1774–1776. 3 vols. [4] l., 563, [39] p.; [4] l., 704 p.; [3] l., 576 p. 27 cm.

Johann Alphons Turretini (1671–1737), a reformed theologian, was professor in Geneva where he taught a kind of rational orthodoxy harmonizing natural theology with the viewpoint of revelation and favoring religious tolerance. His collected works contain a "Dissertatio de libertate humana contra Spinozam" (vol. 1, pp. 138–151) and a "Dissertatio . . . pro veritate religionis christianae adversus incredulorum difficultates," disputing Spinoza's critique of miracles (pp. 435–446); see also vol. 1, pp. 4, 252 and vol. 3, pp. 297 and 324 f. (on Spinozistic sects).

1775

- 539 **[Boulainvilliers, Henri de]**. *Traité des trois imposteurs*. [Holland?], 1775. 152 p. 19 ½ cm.

This *Traité des trois imposteurs*, most probably written by Henri de Boulainvilliers, appeared first in print in 1719 as the second part of *La vie et l'esprit de Benoit Spinoza*, but exists also in form of clandestinely distributed manuscripts (665, 667, 668, 669). Beginning in the 1770s the relaxation of censorship and later the spirit of the French Revolution caused the *Traité* to be published many times (542, 578, 605, 615).

Appended to this issue are three pieces, namely "Sentimens sur le Traité des trois imposteurs," a condensation of Bernard de la Monnoie's *Lettre . . . sur le prétendu livre des trois imposteurs*, 1712 (307); "Réponse à la dissertation de Mr. de La Monnoye, sur le Traité des trois imposteurs," by an unknown, possibly by Peter Friedrich Arpe (195); and "Copie de l'article 1x du tome Ier, seconde partie des Mémoires de littérature," 1716. These three pieces do not deal with the French *Traité des trois imposteurs*, but the Latin *De tribus impostoribus*, thus adding greatly to the traditional confusion (665, 667).

- 540 **Holland**, Georg Jonathan von. *Réflexions philosophiques sur le Système de la nature*. Nouvelle édition revue, corrigée & augmentée. En deux parties. Neufchatel, 1775. 4, 387 p. 20 cm.

This refutation of Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524/5) by Georg Jonathan von Holland (1742–1784), a German mathematician and philosopher, includes Spinoza as one of Holbach's sources or as a thinker holding parallel opinions (pp. 6 f., 109, 245, 261, 265; see also pp. 253, 351, 355).

- 541 **Maclaurin**, Colin. An account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical discoveries, in four books . . . From the author's manuscript papers, by Patrick Murdoch . . . The third edition. London: J. Nourse, etc., 1775. [5] l., 26, 412 p.; plates. 22 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1748 (428).

1776

- 542 [**Boulainvilliers**, Henri de]. *Traité des trois imposteurs*. Amsterdam: [Marc Michel Rey?], 1776. [1] l., 138 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

This edition contains the same text and appendices as that of 1775 (539).

- 543 **Jerusalem**, Karl Wilhelm. *Philosophische Aufsätze* . . . herausgegeben von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Braunschweig: Buchhandlung des Fuerstl. Waisenhauses, 1776. [8] l., 116 p. 15 cm.

Edition designated by Muncker (Lessing's *Saemtliche Schriften*, vol. 12, p. 292) as the first issue and by Paul Beer (in his reprint of *Philosophische Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1900, pp. x f.) as the second.

Karl Wilhelm Jerusalem (1747–1772), a government official in Wetzlar, Germany, committed suicide after he fell in love with the wife of another official. Goethe, a colleague of Jerusalem in Wetzlar, memorialized him in his *Leiden des jungen Werther*. Lessing published Jerusalem's philosophical essays as a protest against the sentimental characterization of his friend by Goethe.

The third essay, "Ueber die Freyheit," reports a discussion between Lessing and Jerusalem on freedom of will (pp. 19–56); Jerusalem wins Lessing over to his side by citing, without mentioning him by name, Spinoza's views. In his notes on this essay (pp. 111–113) Lessing praises Jerusalem for having well formulated "a system which because of its dangerous conclusions has been decried so much and which certainly would be more widely shared if one could get accustomed so easily to consider these very conclusions in the light in which they appear here." This in a way is a *confessio Spinozistica* by Lessing many years before his conversation with Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi in which he declared himself a Spinozist (564).

- 544 **Jerusalem**, Karl Wilhelm. *Philosophische Aufsätze* . . . herausgegeben von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Braunschweig: Buchhandlung des Fuerstl. Waisenhauses, 1776. [6] l., 116 p. 16 ½ cm.

Edition designated by Muncker (Lessing's *Saemtliche Schriften*, vol. 12, p. 292) as the second issue and by Paul Beer (in his reprint of *Philosophische Aufsätze*, Berlin, 1900, pp. x f.) as the first.

See my notes on 543.

- 545 [**Meyer**, Lodewijk]. *Philosophia Scripturae interpres. Exercitatio paradoxa tertium edita, et appendice Ioachimi Camerarii aucta; cum notis variis et praefatione D. Io. Sal. Semleri*. Halle: Johann Christoph Hendel, 1776. 24, 300 p. 21 ½ cm.

A new annotated edition of Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (6) by Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791), the German theologian who forcefully initiated modern biblical criticism in Germany. Semler was attracted to Meyer's book because it supported his rationalistic approach to theology and his doubts about the historical merits of an organized church.

- 546 **Mosheim**, Johann Lorenz von. *Histoire ecclésiastique ancienne et moderne, depuis la naissance de Jesus-Christ jusqu'au commencement du XVIII^e siècle: dans laquelle on considere l'origine, les progrès & les variations de la puissance ecclésiastique, relativement à l'état de la littérature, de la philosophie, & à l'histoire politique de l'Europe durant ce période* . . . Traduite de l'original latin . . . par Archibald Maclaine . . . et de l'anglois en françois. . . Maestricht: Jean-Edme Dufour & Philippe Roux, 1776. 6 vols. [2] l., 26 p., [1] l., 564 p.; [2] l., 505 p.; [2] l., 477 p.; [2] l., 536 p.; [2] l., 531 p.; [2] l., 439 p., [2] l. 20 ½ cm.

French translation of Mosheim's *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae* from the English translation (502).

- 547 **Valsecchi**, Antonino. *La religione vincitrice opera . . . relativa ai libri De' fondamenti della religione e dei fonti dell' empietà*. Padua: Stamperia del Seminario, 1776. 2 vols. 18 p., [1] l., 224 p.; 12, 299 p. 25 cm.

This work supplements Valsecchi's *Dei fondamenti della religione* (511). It examines in great detail, and then "destroys," such books as Woolston's *Discours sur les miracles* (521), Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524), Fréret's *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne* (510) and other recently published writings by Holbach, Boulanger, and other *esprits forts*. Spinoza, Valsecchi repeats over and over, is at the root of their thought or forms its logical culmination (vol. 1, pp. 9, 45, 49, 67, 71, 107, 207; vol. 2, pp. 4, 209).

- 548 **Platner**, Ernst. *Philosophische Aphorismen nebst einigen Anleitungen zur philosophischen Geschichte*. Leipzig: Schwickert, 1776–1782. 2 vols. [1] l., 418 p., [5] l.; [1] l., 480 p., [4] l. 17 ½ cm.

Ernst Platner (1744–1818) was a professor first of medicine, later of philosophy, at the University of Leipzig. His chief work, *Philosophische Aphorismen*, follows, at least in this first edition, the doctrines of Leibnitz. His references to Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 263 f., 292 f., 319 f., 347 f., 348 f., 352–360) are superficial and thoroughly routine.

A new, in many ways different, edition appeared in 1790–1800 (597).

1777

- 549 **Lavater**, Johann Caspar. *Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Befoerderung der Menschenkenntniss und Menschenliebe. Dritter Versuch. . . .* Leipzig und Wintherthur: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, etc., 1777. [6] l., 356 p., [4] l., [1] loose leaf ("An den Buchbinder."); plates. 31 cm.

Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), Swiss patriotic poet and pietist theologian with a strong bent for mysticism, was responsible for a pseudo-scientific fad of his time, the development of a system of "physiognomy" as an exact means of determining the character of humans and even animals. His *Physiognomische Fragmente*, one of the most beautifully printed and most richly illustrated 18th century books, represents a comprehensive exercise in the new science which gained followers through all of Europe.

The plate preceding p. 277 is a copper engraving of Spinoza by Johann Heinrich Lips (1758–1817), a late version of the portrait bound into a few copies of *Opera posthuma* (696), and to which Lavater offers the following interpretation (pp. 277 f.): "Not the best picture I have seen of Spinoza. Not in it are the strong eyebrows of the deep thinker — not in the lower contour of the nose the unchildlike search — not in the mouth the moderation and melancholy of the original . . . But, as it is — what an eloquent head! How the man is solidly based in and upon himself alone! How he travels his own path without regard for detractors or followers! How he formed himself, how he took roots in deep stillness! What quiet firmness in his forehead! What an amazing mind lies from between the eyebrows to the root of his nose! How much and deep his eyes see! How they search out all loose spots of each system crossing his way. How tired of thinking, inquiring, doubting — in his mouth which for sure is only half-true — how much wisdom and quiet nobility — mood and salt! The whole face a lovely blend of melancholy, battling with doubts, and philosophical ease — which produces the belief of having found the truth. His mien smiles the Voltairean verse: *J'ai des plats écoliers et des mauvais critiques*."

- 550 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Philosophische Schriften*. Verbesserte Auflage. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss, 1777. 2 vols. Frontispiece, 22, 278 p.; [1] l., 283, [1] p. 14 1/2 cm.

The last edition of Mendelssohn's *Philosophische Schriften* (492) appearing during his lifetime.

- 551 **Zabuesnig**, Johann Christoph von. *Historische und kritische Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Schriften des Herrn von Voltaire und anderer*

Neuphilosophen unserer Zeiten. . . . Augsburg: Gebrueder Veith, 1777. 2 vols. Portrait, [2] l., 352 p., [3] l.; portrait, [2] l., 453, [3] p. 17 cm.

The first volume of Johann Christoph von Zabuesnig's work contains a biography of Voltaire; the second, a number of critical articles on deists and atheists, among them Spinoza (vol. 2, pp. 397–409).

1778

- 552 **Du Voisin**, Jean Baptiste. *L'autorité des livres de Moyse, établie et défendue contre les incrédules*. Paris: Charles-Pierre Berton, 1778. 12, 512 p. 16 1/2 cm.

The Abbé Jean Baptiste Du Voisin (1744–1813), a professor at the Sorbonne, royal censor, and later, after the French Revolution and exile in Germany, bishop of Nantes, rejects the arguments of Bible criticism in the writings of Voltaire, Holbach and other *philosophes*, and points at Spinoza as one of their prime sources (pp. 71, 76, 79, 82, 88, 110, 250 f.).

- 553 **Magazin fuer die Philosophie und ihre Geschichte**. Aus den Jahrbuechern der Akademien angelegt von Michael Hissmann. . . . Goettingen und Lemgo: Meyersche Buchhandlung, 1778–1783. 6 vols. 364 p., [2] l.; 364 p., [2] l.; 382 p., [1] l.; 330 p., [2] l.; 358 p., [2] l.; 372, [2] p. 16 cm.

This journal, edited by Michael Hissmann (1752–1784), professor of philosophy in Goettingen, contains mostly translations of French essays which had originally appeared in the publications of learned societies. Among them is "Ueber das System des Spinoza, und ueber Bayle's Erinnerungen gegen dieses System," the translation of "Examen du Spinosisme," with which Philippe Jacob de Jariges (b. 1706), descendant of French refugees and perpetual secretary of the Royal Academy of Berlin, had opened the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Berlin*, 1745–1746. His essays (vol. 5, 1782, pp. 3–72) demonstrate the insufficiency of Bayle's Spinoza interpretation. Instead of paraphrasing Bayle once more, Jariges presents a well-founded analysis of Spinoza's relationship to Descartes, particularly with respect to the concept of extension.

The essay, "Betrachtungen ueber das mathematische Unendliche," by F. Achard (vol. 1, pp. 195–214), considers the concept of the mathematical infinite as particularly interesting because of its connection with Spinozism (p. 199).

1779

- 554 **Hennings**, August. *Philosophische Versuche*. Copenhagen: Godiches Wittwe, 1779 (1780). 2 vols. [1] l., 368 p.; 327 p. 16 cm.

August Hennings (1746–1826), a Danish government official and a friend of Lessing and Mendelssohn, was the author of philosophical books in which he eulogized reason and enlightenment.

In the essay "Toleranz" Hennings cites the call which Spinoza, the "atheist," received to teach at the University of Heidelberg as a fine example of unlimited tolerance (vol. 1, pp. 274 f.). He condemns the banning of Spinoza by the rabbis of Amsterdam (vol. 2, p. 142) and shows generally that he does not consider Spinoza an atheist (vol. 1, pp. 274 ff.) and that his own concept of God is close to Spinoza's (vol. 1, p. 235). His poem "Gott," vol. 2, pp. 229 ff. begins with the exclamation "Im Unendlichen ist der Unendliche."

- 555 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. Letters addressed to His Highness the Prince of ****, containing, comments on the writings of the most eminent authors, who have been accused of attacking the Christian religion . . . A new translation. London: R. Trophy, etc., 1779. [2] l., 160 p. 18 cm.

An English translation of Voltaire's *Lettres à son Altesse Monseigneur le Duc De *****, 1767 (513).

- 556 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. A treatise on toleration; The ignorant philosopher; and a commentary on the Marquis of Beccaria's Treatise on crimes and punishments. Translated from the last Geneva edition . . . by the Rev. David Williams. London: Fielding and Walker, 1779. Frontispiece, [2] l., 4, 224 p., [1] l., 3, 86 p.; [1] l., 50 p. 21 cm.

An English translation of three of Voltaire's writings, among them *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

1780

- 557 [**Holbach**, Paul Heinrich Dietrich d']. *Système de la nature, ou des loix du monde physique et du monde moral*. Par Mirabaud, secrétaire perpétuel, & l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française. London, 1780. 2 vols. 12, 47, [1], 371 p.; [2] l., 464 p. 20 cm.

This new edition of Holbach's *Système de la nature* (524/5) is prefaced (vol. 1, pp. 1–47 following the table of contents) with a section called "Sentiment de Voltaire sur le Système de la nature" which contains the chapters on Holbach's book and on Spinoza from Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, 1770 f. (527), the poem "Sur le livre Des trois imposteurs" and a few other pieces by Voltaire.

- 558 **Ramsay**, André-Michel de. Die Reisen des Cyrus eine moralische Geschichte. Nebst einer Abhandlung ueber die Mythologie und alte Theologie . . . Aus

dem Franzoesischen uebersetzt von Matthias Claudius, mit einer Vorrede des Asmus. Breslau: Gottlieb Loewe, 1780. 445, 8 p. 17 ½ cm.

A German translation by Matthias Claudius of Ramsay's *Les voyages de Cyrus* (293) with a preface by Asmus, which name is but a pseudonym of the translator (569).

1781

- 559 [**Maréchal**, Sylvain]. *Ad maiorem gloriam virtutis. Fragmens d'un poème moral sur Dieu*. L'homme a dit: faisons Dieu; qu'il soit à notre image: Dieu fut; & l'ouvrier adora son ouvrage. Atheopolis [Paris]: L'an premier du regne de la raison, 1781. 91 p. 19 ½ cm.

Sylvain Maréchal (1750–1803), librarian at the Collège Mazarin in Paris, was the author of many atheistic writings using the jargon of the French Revolution; his *Dictionnaire des athées*, 1800 (627) is the best known. The *Fragmens* is Maréchal's first work; vehemently atheistic, it caused its author considerable trouble. The "virtuous Spinoza" is Maréchal's guide:

"Vertueux Spinoza, le fer d'un assassin, Bien loin de ralentir ton généreux dessein T'enflamma davantage; & ton âme aggrandie Se frayant une route encore plus hardie, D'une seule substance, alors tu fis l'aveu, Osas la démontrer, & l'univers fut Dieu." (p. 8)

1783

- 560 **Bure**, Guillaume de, fils aîné. Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de La Vallière . . . contenant les manuscrits, les premières éditions, les livres imprimés sur vélin & sur grand papier, les livres rares, & précieux par leur belle conservation, les livres d'estampes, & c. dont la vente se fera dans les premiers jours du mois du Décembre 1783. Paris: Guillaume de Bure fils aîné, 1783. 3 vols. [1] l., portrait, [1] l., 64, 602 p.; plate; [1] l., 758 p.; [2] l., 388, 376, 92, 42, [1] l. 20 cm.

The catalogue of the famous collection of Louis-César Duc de La Vallière (1708–1780) lists a section of *Spinozistes*, nos. 948–951, books by Spinoza and Fénelon's *Réfutation*, 1731 (315).

- 561 Γνωθι σαπην oder **Magazin** zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde als ein Lesebuch fuer Gelehrte und Ungelehrte. Mit Unterstuetzung mehrerer Wahrheitsfreunde herausgegeben von Carl Philipp Moritz (vol. 52–72: C. P. Moritz und C. F. Pockels; vol. 73–83: Karl Philipp Moritz; vol. 91–103: Karl Philipp Moritz und

Salomon Maimon). Berlin: August Mylius, 1783–1793. 30 issues (10 vols.). 22 cm.

The *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde* is a pioneer work of the first order. The ten volumes of this journal contain important contributions to what was then considered pathological psychology and would today be considered data for psychoanalysis, depth-psychology, etc. Carl Philipp Moritz (1757–1793), German novelist and critic, was its first, and remained the most important, editor. The ninth and tenth volumes appeared under the combined editorship of Moritz and Salomon Maimon (594).

In vol. 9, 1791, p. 143, in an important statement Maimon declares that in his first book, the *Versuch ueber die Transcendentalphilosophie*, 1790 (594), he had attempted the *salto mortale* of combining Kantian philosophy with Spinozism, but that he now saw the impossibility of executing it.

1784

- 562 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Philosophische Schriften*. Troppau: Joseph Georg Trassler, 1784. 2 vols. 268 p.; 167 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

Unauthorized reprint of Mendelssohn's *Philosophische Schriften* (492).

- 563 [**Schulz**, Johann Heinrich]. *Philosophische Betrachtung ueber Theologie und Religion ueberhaupt und ueber die juedische insonderheit*. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1784. 248 p. 17 cm.

Johann Heinrich Schulz (1739–1823) was a Protestant minister in small German towns whose first books led the Berlin Consistory to ask for his dismissal; the Prussian king, however, did not consent. Schulz' *Philosophische Betrachtung* created a sensation. Accusing Mendelssohn of being an orthodox Jew, and his kind of Judaism of being a fossilized monstrosity, it praised Spinoza, Vanini, Hobbes, and other like-minded thinkers as moralists (pp. 118 ff., 201 ff.). Schulz continued to write in a similar vein and lost his pulpit when the enlightened regime of Frederick the Great ended.

See also my notes on Schulz' *Der entlarvte Moses Mendelssohn*, 1786 (575).

1785

- 564 [**Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich]. *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn*. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1785. [4] l., 215, [1] p.; inserted between pp. 48 and 49 are two unnumbered leaves containing Goethe's poem "Prometheus." 17 cm.

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1740–1819), the "*Glaubensphilosoph*," had but one aim in the majority of his writings regardless of whether they were philosophical in the strict sense, fictional or polemical. Opposed to philosophical thinking that resulted in the construction of systems of philosophy, Jacobi invariably, whatever form his writing took, preached the virtues of unreflected "belief" and praised the immediacy of spiritual experience as superior to rational reasoning.

His *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* must be understood in that context. Jacobi, who had studied Spinoza's writings since his youth, maintains that Spinozism is the only perfectly logical philosophical system, but that it must be rejected because it contradicts the imperative needs of soul and heart. However, making this point was not the primary purpose of the book. It was prompted by a "misunderstanding" between him and Moses Mendelssohn, at the outset a minor personal affair, which grew into a literary *cause célèbre*, the *Pantheismusstreit*, in which the important literary personalities of Germany became involved. The character of the writers engaged in literary battle were discussed as much as, and sometimes more than, the philosophy of Spinoza. But when the long controversy (564–567, 569, 570, 572–575, 577, 581–587, 590, 591, 595, 619, 633, 642, 643) was over, it had stirred up enough interest in the Dutch philosopher, to lead to a new Spinozism as well as an impartial critical study of his life and works.

In July 1780, Jacobi spent a few days in Wolfenbuettel visiting Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (536). During his stay Jacobi showed his host a handwritten copy of a yet unpublished poem "Prometheus" by Goethe which he expected would antagonize Lessing. But much to his surprise, Lessing liked it. "The viewpoint from which the poem stems is my own viewpoint," he said to Jacobi after having read it. "The orthodox concepts of the deity are no longer right for me; I cannot enjoy them. 'Ev καὶ Παν! The One and the All. I know nothing else. If I should call myself after somebody, then I would not know anyone else but Spinoza.'" Jacobi, stunned to find in Lessing a Spinozist, asked whether Lessing had ever told his friend Mendelssohn of his attachment to Spinoza and Lessing answered "Never."

Jacobi kept Lessing's confession secret for three years. In 1783, however, when he heard that Mendelssohn planned to write a biography of his late friend Lessing — Lessing had died in 1781 — he informed Elise Reimarus, his and Mendelssohn's mutual friend, of his talk with Lessing and left it up to her whether she wanted to tell Mendelssohn. Elise Reimarus did; she wrote to Mendelssohn. Shocked and perplexed, Mendelssohn did not know whether to discard Jacobi's tale as a figment of imagination coming from a man of whose friendship with Lessing the latter had never told him or regard it as an exaggeration. Mendelssohn himself had expressed in his first book, the *Philosophische*

Gespraeche, 1755 (474), understanding words for Spinoza and possibly, he thought, Lessing had merely done the same. But a long report from Jacobi, one of many letters exchanged between Elise Reimarus, her brother Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus, Jacobi, Mendelssohn, and others, convinced him that the fateful conversation was basically correct and, in a letter of November 18, 1783 to the two Reimaruses (670), he does not hesitate to acknowledge that he had wronged Jacobi. He said that he would use the information in his planned book about Lessing though he did not yet know how. As he points out in this and later letters, he was reluctant to write a detailed refutation of Spinozism and enter into a literary feud with Jacobi whose thinking was so alien to his. In an unpublished letter of April 10, 1784 from Elise Reimarus to him (673), Elise's brother still favored withholding from the public Lessing's "Spinozistic opinions." And Mendelssohn so decided, at least for the time being.

While Jacobi continued to send him letters and essays intended to provoke a public discussion of Lessing's Spinozism and Spinozism in general, Mendelssohn resolved to publish a book presenting his philosophy and his position with respect to Spinoza's philosophy without involving Lessing. Jacobi, angry about Mendelssohn's reluctance to meet him in open battle and aware that Mendelssohn was preparing his *Morgenstunden* (567) for publication, rushed into print. His *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564) came out in the early days of October, 1785, as did Mendelssohn's *Morgenstunden*.

Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza, anything but a systematic work, tells the story of Jacobi's visit to Wolfenbuettel. Goethe's poem "Prometheus" which started the controversy, printed here for the first time, is, as a footnote explains, inserted "with prudence," referring to the fact that it is printed on two unpaginated leaves, allowing a censor who would find it objectionable to remove them from the book without visible damage (565, 566). Many of the letters and essays which had been exchanged between Jacobi, Mendelssohn and their friends appear in Jacobi's book, partly to demonstrate his generosity in this matter, a generosity which he indicates remained unreciprocated, this being the reason he submitted the matter to the public, and partly to enunciate his opinion on Spinoza's philosophy and its followers.

To Jacobi, Spinozism is atheism; cabalistic philosophy is but an undeveloped or confused kind of Spinozism; the philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolff is as fatalistic as that of Spinoza; any kind of rational demonstration ends in fatalism; and the true element of human knowledge is belief. Thus Jacobi's book ends challenging the philosophy of enlightenment with a philosophical belief anchored in Christian faith.

The philosophical controversy following the publication of Jacobi's book and dying out only in the next century divided the literary establishment of Germany. Those eager to demolish *Aufklaerung*, led by Johann Georg Hamann,

and the enlighteners gathered in opposing camps. My copy is the one Jacobi sent to Hamann with the dedication "Meinem lieben Vater Hamann."

See also my notes on the second edition of this book, 1789 (591) and on Hemsterhuys, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 1825–1826 (653).

- 565 [Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich]. Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1785. [5] l., [1] l. containing a revised version of pp. 11 and 12, 215, [1] p.; inserted between pp. 48 and 49 are two unnumbered leaves containing Goethe's poem "Prometheus." 18 ½ cm.

This copy contains on the reverse of the sixth leaf a printed instruction to the binder that in places where Goethe's atheistic poem, "Prometheus," might lead to a confiscation of the book, this poem, printed separately on unpaginated pages between pp. 48 and 49 could be removed without damage to the book. In such a case pages ¹¹/₁₂, referring to this poem, should be replaced by a cancel of pages ¹¹/₁₂ (also contained in this copy) which merely states that for good reasons the poem could not be printed. Only a few copies of the book in this state have survived (564, 566).

- 566 [Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich]. Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1785. [4] l., 215, [1] p.; inserted between pp. 48 and 49 are two unnumbered leaves containing Goethe's poem "Prometheus;" laid in as a loose leaf is the cancel of pages ¹¹/₁₂ which was to be used if Goethe's poem "Prometheus" was removed. 16 ½ cm.

See 564 and 565.

- 567 Mendelssohn, Moses. *Morgenstunden oder Vorlesungen ueber das Daseyn Gottes*. Erster Theil. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1785. [7] l., 330, 42 p. 18 cm.

Moses Mendelssohn was in a state of excitement and pain caused him by Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's relentless attempt to pressure him into a comprehensive discussion of his position with respect to Lessing's alleged Spinozism (564) when he decided to publish the first part of the *Morgenstunden* (all that ever appeared). Grown out of informal morning lectures he had given in his house for the benefit of his children and their friends, among them the brothers Humboldt, the *Morgenstunden* offers a systematic presentation of Mendelssohn's philosophy of religion and his thoughts on atheism and Spinozism without, however, relating them to Jacobi's insistence that Lessing had been a Spinozist. Mendelssohn was ill when he prepared the manuscript for the printer; see my notes on part of the manuscript (671). It was rushed to the

press and ready in October 1785, the last of Mendelssohn's books to appear during his lifetime.

Chapters 13–15 (pp. 213–285) deal in particular with Spinoza and pantheism. Mendelssohn criticizes Spinoza for composing the infinite out of an infinity of finite ideas – a clear misunderstanding of Spinoza – and proposes a “purified pantheism” in which God and world are separated although the One is all and the All is one.

- 568 **Voltaire**, François Marie Arouet de. *Der unwissende Philosoph*. Aus dem Französischen. Berlin und Leipzig: Johann Georg Moessle, 1785. 176 p., [2] l. 16 ½ cm.
German translation of *Le philosophe ignorant* (505).

1786

- 569 [**Claudius**, Matthias]. *Zwey Recensionen &c. in Sachen der Herren Lessing, M. Mendelssohn, und Jacobi*. Hamburg: In Commission bey C.E. Bohn, 1786. 29 p. 20 cm.

The author of this pamphlet is Matthias Claudius (1740–1815), the German poet and editor of the *Wandsbecker Bothe*, who wrote under the name of “Asmus.” The pamphlet contains reviews of Jacobi’s *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564) and Mendelssohn’s *An die Freunde Lessings* (572). Although Claudius takes Jacobi’s side, he esteems Mendelssohn highly: “I have, as one says, a tendre for him – as a Jew because of his great forefathers and because of my religion.” Altogether Claudius treats the conflict between Mendelssohn and Jacobi in its general human, rather than philosophic, aspects.

- 570 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi wider Mendelssohns Beschuldigungen betreffend die Briefe ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*. . . . Leipzig: Georg Joachim Goeschen, 1786. Frontispiece, [1] l., 7, [1], 127 p. 17 cm.

Jacobi’s answer to Mendelssohn’s *An die Freunde Lessings* (572); it appeared not long after Mendelssohn’s death. By additional letters on the matter of Lessing’s Spinozism and a running commentary on Mendelssohn’s reasoning, Jacobi tries to justify his stand.

- 571 **Jakob**, Ludwig Heinrich. *Pruefung der Mendelssohnschen Morgenstunden oder aller spekulativen Beweise fuer das Daseyn Gottes*. . . . Nebst einer Abhandlung von Herrn Professor Kant. Leipzig: Johann Samuel Heinsius, 1786. [4] l., 60 p., [2] l., 334 p. 16 cm.

Ludwig Heinrich Jakob (1759–1827), professor of philosophy at the University of Halle, argues in this book from the viewpoint of Kant’s critical philosophy against the proofs of God presented in Mendelssohn’s *Morgenstunden* (567). In this context he also discusses, especially in the chapter “Ueber Idealismus, Epikureismus, und Spinozismus,” pp. 178 ff., Mendelssohn’s views on Spinoza.

Immanuel Kant contributed to Jakob’s book *Bemerkungen*, pp. XLIXLX, which in impersonal philosophic terms, expresses his fundamental reaction to the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy.

- 572 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Moses Mendelssohn an die Freunde Lessings*. Ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi Briefwechsel ueber die Lehre des Spinoza. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1786. 24, 87 p. 16 cm.

An die Freunde Lessings is the last work of Moses Mendelssohn (474); it appeared shortly after his death. Jacobi’s *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564) had wounded Mendelssohn deeply. It hurt him to see Lessing portrayed as an atheist and a man who kept his deepest convictions a secret from his friends. A public vindication of his great friend, Mendelssohn felt, had become his responsibility. And thus he set out to write *An die Freunde Lessings* to restore the image of Lessing the enlightener and to express his disdain for Jacobi who had wilfully distorted it. He wrote the book in great excitement; he had been sick for years and working on this book made him sicker. On the last day of December, 1785 he took the completed manuscript to the publisher; four days later he was dead.

Johann Jacob Engel (1741–1802), a popularizer of German Enlightenment, who had helped Mendelssohn prepare the *Morgenstunden* (567) for publication, completed the printing arrangements for the book. In his preface he stated that Jacobi’s attack was responsible for Mendelssohn’s death, a remark which added new bitterness to the polemic (see 574).

- 573 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Moses Mendelssohn an die Freunde Lessings*. Ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi Briefwechsel ueber die Lehre des Spinoza. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1786. 24, 87 p. 16 ½ cm.

Second issue of 572. It is printed on inferior paper, uses different ornamental lines and has on p. 19, line 5 the spelling “erzählet” whereas the first issue has “erzehlet.”

- 574 [**Reichardt**, Johann Friedrich, Marcus **Herz**, and David **Friedlaender**]. *Gelehrte Sachen*. [Remarks on] Moses Mendelsohn [sic] an die Freunde Lessings. Ein Anhang zu Herrn Jacobi Briefwechsel ueber die Lehre des Spinoza. Berlin, 1786.

(Erste Beylage zum 18ten Stueck der Koenigl[ich-] privilegierten Berl[inischen] Zeitung von 1786.) [2] l. 22 cm.

Soon after the posthumous publication of Mendelssohn's *An die Freunde Lessings* (572) in a supplement to the *Koeniglich-privilegirte Zeitung*, a Berlin newspaper, three friends of Moses Mendelssohn joined the controversy started by the statement in the preface to that book that Jacobi's insistence on Lessing's Spinozism had been the cause of Mendelssohn's sudden death.

Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814), composer and “conductor to the King of Prussia,” Frederick the Great, rejected the accusation by reporting a discussion he had with Mendelssohn in which Mendelssohn had not shown any special concern about Jacobi's *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564). Marcus Herz (1747–1803), Mendelssohn's physician, and David Friedlaender (1750–1834), a disciple of Mendelssohn and later a leader of Berlin Jewry, refuted Reichardt's report.

- 575 [Schulz, Johann Heinrich]. Der entlarvte Moses Mendelsohn oder voellige Aufklaerung des raethselhaften Todverdrusses des M. Mendelsohn ueber die Bekanntmachung des Lessingschen Atheismus von Jacobi. Amsterdam [Berlin], 1786. 120 p. 15 ½ cm.

Johann Heinrich Schulz (563) offers a new explantion of the emotional distress Mendelssohn displayed in his *An die Freunde Lessings* (572). Mendelssohn, says Schulz, had provoked the ire of the enlightened, even atheistic Jews of Berlin, when, in 1783, he upheld orthodox Judaism in his *Jerusalem*. Schulz's *Philosophische Betrachtung*, which demolished Mendelssohn's theory of Judaism and gave support to the enlightenend Jews, had driven him into a corner and his position would have become completely untenable had it become an accepted fact that his friend Lessing was an atheistic Spinozist. Desperate, Mendelssohn tried all the tricks in his bag to denounce Jacobi as a liar and his friends, knowingly or naively, lent him their support.

- 576 [Schulz, Johann Heinrich]. Philosophische Betrachtung ueber Theologie und Religion ueberhaupt und ueber die juedische insonderheit. Zweyte unveraenderte Auflage. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1786. 248 p. 16 ½ cm.

New title edition of Schulz' book of 1784 (563).

- 577 [Wizenmann, Thomas]. Die Resultate der Jacobischen und Mendelssohnschen Philosophie; kritisch untersucht von einem Freywilligen. . . . Leipzig: G. J. Goeschen, 1786. 255 p., [1] l. 16 cm.

Thomas Wizenmann (1759–1787), a young protégé of Jacobi, living at the time he wrote this book in his patron's house, had shown him the manuscript and Jacobi had recommended it in the introduction to his *Wider Mendelssohn's Beschuldigungen betreffend die Briefe ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (570). Wizenmann's book, which disregards the personal aspects of the *Pantheismusstreit*, is a skillful presentation of Christian positivism against Mendelssohn's rationalism and Spinoza's atheism.

1787

- 578 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. Spinoza II. oder Subiroth Sopim. “Rom, bey der Wittwe Bona Spes. 5770.” [Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1787] 12, 116 p. 17 cm.

A German translation by an unknown translator and editor of *Traité des trois imposteurs* (or *L'esprit de Spinoza*) (539, 665, 667). *Subiroth Sopim* is the syllabic reading backward of *Im-pos-thoribus*. Added to the translation is, among others, *Eine historische Nachricht dieses sehr raren Buches* containing a translation of De la Monnoie's *Sur le traité de tribus impostoribus*.

I have followed van der Linde (*Benedictus Spinoza bibliografie*, no. 103) in setting 1787 as the year of publication. The Baer catalogue of Jacob Freudenthal's library has it as 1785 and Ed. Boehmer (“Spinozana” in *Zeitschrift fuer Philosophie*, vol. 36, 1860, p. 159) believes that the year 5770 in the imprint points to 1770. However a remark on *Spinoza II.* in Karl Heinrich Heydenreich's *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*, 1789 (590), a book completed in 1788, bears out van der Linde's date (p. LXXX).

- 579 Conz, Carl Philipp. Moses Mendelssohn, der Weise und der Mensch. Ein lyrisch-didaktisches Gedicht in vier Gesaengen. Stuttgart: Johann Benedict Mezler, 1787. [12] l., 85 p. 18 ½ cm.

Carl Philipp Conz (1762–1827), a poet and theologian, was professor of classic literature at the University of Tuebingen. Moses Mendelssohn's death in 1786 inspired Conz to write a “Lehrgedicht,” a didactic poem, on the philosopher as “a sage and a man.” The proceeds from the sale of the book went to poor Jewish families.

Conz contrasts Mendelssohn's teleologic proof of God with Spinoza's concept of world and God forming in their fusion “Nature, a formless colossus, a thousand-armed monster full of blind forces without will and reason.”

- 580 Freret, Nicolas. Oeuvres. London, 1787. 5 vols. 16, 221 p.; [4] l., 304 p.; [4] l., 232 p.; [4] l., 8, 214 p.; [4] l., 191 p. 14 ½ cm.

The collected works of Nicolas Fréret contain his *Examen critique des apologistes de la religion chrétienne*, 1767 (510) and *Lettre de Thrasibule à Leucippe*, 1768 (516).

- 581 **Herder**, Johann Gottfried. Gott . . . Einige Gespraech. Gotha: Karl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1787. 8, 252 p. 16 cm.

Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), German poet and philosopher, taking the Mendelssohn-Jacobi Spinoza controversy (564, 570, 572) as his point of departure, wrote this book to “set forth his philosophical creed in its fullest detail.” Coming to the defense of Spinoza, whom Herder does not regard as an atheist, he builds his and Shaftesbury’s ideas into a dynamic pantheism. As protagonist of an organic philosophy of history, Herder rejected enlightenment and Mendelssohn. But neither was he attracted to Jacobi’s slant. The *Pantheismusstreit* had prompted him, as it had Goethe, to study Spinoza and his prime concern was neither Mendelssohn nor Jacobi, but Spinoza.

- 582 **Heydenreich**, Karl Heinrich. Animadversiones in Mosis Mendelii filii refutationem placitorum Spinotzae . . . viro doctissimo Carolo Gottlob Sonntag . . . summos in philosophia honores gratulatus est amicorum quorundam. . . . Leipzig: Solbrig, [1787]. 15, [1] p. 21 ½ cm.

Karl Heinrich Heydenreich (1764–1801), later professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, discusses in this congratulatory offering Mendelssohn’s rejection of Spinoza’s philosophy in his *Morgenstunden* (567). Two years later he discussed more fully Spinoza’s concepts of nature and God in support of Jacobi’s position in his book *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza* (590).

- 583 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. David Hume ueber den Glauben oder Idealismus und Realismus. Ein Gespraech. Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1787. 9, [1], 230 p. 16 ½ cm.

In *David Hume ueber den Glauben*, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi develops his concept of *Glaubensphilosophie* and defines his differences from Kant. He asserts that the certainty of what cannot be proved by demonstration rests on belief. Published two years after Jacobi *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza* (564), the book refers to it often. There, Jacobi says, he first made use of the concept of *Glaube* — belief which penetrates to the essence of things (p. iv). His dissertation on *Idealism and realism*, too, is, according to Jacobi, an elaboration of statements in his Spinoza letters (p. vii). On pp. 78 ff. he tells how he became acquainted with the writings of Spinoza.

- 584 **Mirabeau**, Honoré Gabriel Riquetti comte de. Sur Moses Mendelssohn, sur la reforme politique des Juifs: et en particulier sur la révolution tentée en leur faveur en 1753 dans la grande Bretagne. London [Paris], 1787. [34] l., 130 p. 19 ½ cm.

Honoré Gabriel Riquetti comte de Mirabeau (1749–1791), French statesman and political writer, traveled in Germany and arrived in Berlin when the *Pantheismusstreit*, the *querelle* between Moses Mendelssohn and Jacobi, was at its height (564–567, 569, 570, 572–575, 577, 581–583). In his book which deals mainly with the political condition of the Jews and its improvement, Mirabeau takes the part of Mendelssohn against Jacobi (pp. 37 f.).

- 585 **Mirabeau**, Honoré Gabriel Riquetti comte de. Ueber die buergerliche Verbesserung der Juden, und insbesondere ueber die zum Besten derselben im Jahr 1753 in England vorgefallene Veraenderung . . . Aus dem Franzoesischen mit Anmerkungen. Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1787. [1] l., 204 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

German translation of Mirabeau’s *Sur Moses Mendelssohn*, 1787 (584).

- 586 **Rehberg**, August Wilhelm. Ueber das Verhaeltniss der Metaphysik zu der Religion. Berlin: August Mylius, 1787. 6, 175 p., [1] l. 15 cm.

August Wilhelm Rehberg (1757–1836), writer on philosophy and politics, prompted by the Jacobi-Mendelssohn *Pantheismusstreit* (564, 570, 572), shows that all metaphysics leads to Spinoza. For the philosopher there is no other choice but between Spinozism and a rejection of any metaphysics in line with Kant’s philosophy.

- 587 [**Schuetz**, Friedrich Wilhelm]. Leben und Meinungen Moses Mendelssohn [sic], nebst dem Geiste seiner Schriften in einem kurzen Abrisse dargestellt. Hamburg: Moellerische Buchhandlung, 1787. Portrait, [6] l., 200 p., [2] l. 16 cm.

This reverent biography of Mendelssohn by Friedrich Wilhelm Schuetz (1758–1819), a German writer on history, freemasonry and tolerance, devotes much space to a discussion of the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy on Spinozism (564, 567, 570, 572). Schuetz, without ever getting its complex meaning, carefully follows its course, clearly standing on Mendelssohn’s side. Schuetz is even inclined to believe that Jacobi’s manner was somewhat responsible for Mendelssohn’s death (preface, p. [1], pp. 92 ff., 101–122, 127, 130 ff., 144–156, 181–188).

1788

- 588 **Kant**, Immanuel. Kritik der praktischen Vernunft. Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1788. 292 p. 20 ½ cm.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the founder of “critical philosophy,” professor at the University of Koenigsberg, states that, regardless of the absurdity of its basic idea, Spinozism presents a conclusive argument — more conclusive than

the theory of creation — concerning the relationship between a first cause and its creations in time if they are regarded as substances.

- 589 **Schulze**, Gottlob Ernst. *Grundriss der philosophischen Wissenschaften*. Wittenberg und Zerbst: Samuel Gottfried Zimmermann, 1788–1790. 2 vols. [10] l., 413, [1] p.; 10, 434 p. 17 ½ cm.

Gottlob Ernst Schulze (1761–1833), professor of philosophy in Helmstaedt and Goettingen, became in his later works, especially in *Aenesidemus* of 1792, one of the most incisive critics of Kant. The *Grundriss* sees in Spinoza the philosopher who developed the concept of emanation, which had been a product of fantasy, into an exact system resting on *a priori* principles of reason (pp. 336–366).

1789

- 590 **Heydenreich**, Karl Heinrich. *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*. Erster Band. Leipzig: Joh. Gottfr. Muellersche Buchhandlung, 1789. 80, 224 p. 18 cm.

Karl Heinrich Heydenreich (582), was a follower of Kant; but he stood by Jacobi when the discussion about the true understanding of Spinoza divided the philosophers. *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*, of which only this first volume appeared, aims at presenting a complete summary and unbiased examination of Spinoza's system. Heydenreich confesses that, unlike many of the new "critical philosophers," he found value in the great metaphysical system builders of the past. In fact, he sides with those who in recent years had stated that Spinoza's system was the most logical kind of metaphysical speculation.

The book opens with a translation of J. M. Lucas' biography of Spinoza from a manuscript of *La vie et l'esprit de Mr. Benoît de Spinoza* (665) which Heydenreich owned.

- 591 **[Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich]**. *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn*. Neue vermehrte Ausgabe. . . Breslau: Gottl. Loewe, 1789. Portrait, [1] l., 51, [1], 440 p., [1] l. [this leaf should have been bound between pp. 258 and 261]. 18 cm.

This second edition of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's book, which started the *Pantheismusstreit* (564), is enlarged by many appendices: an excerpt from Giordano Bruno (whom Jacobi compares to Spinoza); Hemsterhuys on atheism; a contribution by Hamann; basic questions on the interpretation of Spinozism; a comparison between Spinoza and Leibnitz; an essay on speculative philosophy and Spinozism; a discussion of Rehberg's opinion on Spinozism, as outlined in his *Ueber das Verhaeltniss der Metaphysik zu der Religion*, 1787 (586); etc.

The portrait of Spinoza, an engraving by Ernst Carl Thelott of Duesseldorf (1760–1839) is not contained in many copies of the work; the portraits of Mendelssohn and Lessing on the title page, and that of Jacobi on the last page, are also by Thelott.

- 592 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. *Kleine philosophische Schriften*. Mit einer Skizze seines Lebens und Charakters. Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1789. [3] l., 250 p. 15 ½ cm.

This is a collection of small ephemeral pieces by Moses Mendelssohn (474) which had originally appeared in various literary journals. The editor, Daniel Jenisch (1762–1804), minister and professor in Berlin, prefaced the collection with a biographical sketch on Mendelssohn; pp. 52–56 deal with the Mendelssohn-Jacobi Spinoza controversy (564, 567, 572).

1790

- 593 **[Knoblauch, Karl von]**. *Anti-Taumaturgie oder die Bezweiflung der Wunder*. Loretto [Berlin], 1790. 198 p. 17 cm.

The author of this radically anti-religious book is Karl von Knoblauch (1757–1794), an administrative official in one of the small German states, about whom little is known, except that he wrote a few equally rare anonymous pamphlets propagating his opposition to religion and was a friend of the French revolution.

The *Anti-Taumaturgie* opens with an essay "Ueber Wunder, ein Versuch nach Spinozens Grundsätzen" (pp. 7–46, see also p. 97), a recapitulation of Spinoza's refutation of miracles. Altogether, and not only where he is expressly quoted, "Father Spinoza" (p. 51) is Knoblauch's revered model.

- 594 **Maimon**, Salomon. *Versuch ueber die Transcendentalphilosophie mit einem Anhang ueber die symbolische Erkenntniss und Anmerkungen*. Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voss und Sohn, 1790. [7] l., 444 p., [1] l. 16 ½ cm.

Salomon Maimon (1753–1800), a Lithuanian Jew, fled from ghetto life, denounced orthodox Judaism and came to Germany. There, through self-study, living in poverty as a migrant scholar, he became an outstanding interpreter of Kant's philosophy and an original thinker in his own right. His *Versuch ueber die Transcendentalphilosophie* (594) is, according to the author's *Lebensgeschichte* (603) (vol. 2, pp. 253 f.), a "combination system" of Kant and Spinoza, or, as he put in in a note in the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde* (561) (vol. 92, 1791, p. 143), in this book he tried the *salto mortale* of combining Kantian philosophy with Spinozism. Nevertheless, in the *Transcendentalphilosophie* Maimon wards off the possible misunderstanding that he propounded Spinozism (pp. 365 ff.).

- 595 **Philipson, Moses.** *Leben Benedikt's von Spinoza*. Braunschweig: Verlag der Schulbuchhandlung, 1790. 120 p. 15 1/2 cm.

Moses Philipson (b. 1761) was, like his friend Moses Mendelssohn, a book-keeper; he lived in Hanover and played a small part in the efforts toward emancipation of the Jews in Prussia. His Spinoza biography, the first written by a Jew, was prompted by the renewed interest in the philosopher caused by the Mendelssohn-Jacobi Spinoza controversy (564, 567, 570, 572). Philipson makes a noble effort to corral as many sources as were available to him and draw an objective picture of Spinoza, whose character he admired, but whose opinions he did not share.

- 596 **Heydenreich, Karl Heinrich.** *Betrachtungen ueber die Philosophie der natuerlichen Religion*. Leipzig: Weygandsche Buchhandlung, 1790–1791. 2 vols. [3] l., 272 p., [1] l.; 252, 6 p. 20 cm.

Karl Heinrich Heydenreich, who had discussed Spinoza's philosophy in two earlier writings, *Animadversiones*, 1787 (582), and *Natur und Gott nach Spinoza*, 1789 (590), presents in this book a "critique and refutation of the fundamental principles of Spinozism" from the Kantian viewpoint (vol. 1, pp. 258–272; see also p. 46 f.) and "remarks concerning the concept of creation understood as the formation of an eternal chaos against the theory of emanation and Spinozism" (vol. 2, pp. 162–175).

- 597 **Platner, Ernst.** *Philosophische Aphorismen nebst einigen Anleitungen zur philosophischen Geschichte*. Neue durchaus umgearbeitete Ausgabe (vol. 2: Ganz neue Ausarbeitung). Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1790; vol. 2: Leipzig: Schwickert, 1800. 2 vols. [3] l., 502 p., [9] l.; 16, 848 p. 17 1/2 cm.

This new edition of Platner's *Aphorismen* differs from the first (548) in contents and slant. Completely revised, it leans toward a skeptical eclecticism. Platner's remarks on Spinoza have benefited from the revision (vol. 1, pp. 312–315: the system of Spinoza; p. 376: miracles; pp. 430 f.: Spinoza's denial of final causes; p. 435: Spinoza no materialist; vol. 2, pp. 213–217: Spinoza on mind and will).

1791

- 598 **Encyclopédie méthodique** (par une société de gens de lettres, de savans et d'artistes). *Philosophie ancienne et moderne*. Par M. Naigeon. Paris: Panckoucke, etc., 1791–1794. 3 vols. [2] l., 26, 858 p.; [2] l., 940 p.; [2] l., 964 p., [1] l. 27 cm.

When, in 1780, the great *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert was completed, it appeared dated to some and the plan was conceived to prepare a new, more methodic one, which would, based on the first, more clearly enunciate the trends of the new philosophy. Its first volume appeared in 1782. Jacques André Naigeon (1738–1814), litterateur and compiler, who had contributed a few articles to the first *Encyclopédie* and become Diderot's closest friend and interpreter, was in charge of the philosophical articles.

An anonymous article on Spinoza is found in vol. 3, pp. 566–581 ("Spinosisme ou Philosophie de Spinoza"). The article "Spinosistes" by Diderot (p. 581), is reprinted, as are most contributions by Diderot, from the old *Encyclopédie* (see also 625). The two chapters on Spinoza from Toland's *Letters to Serena* (149) appear in French translation (pp. 700–725), taken from the French translation of 1768 of Toland's book (518).

- 599 [Maimon, Salomon, comm.] *More nebuchim*. Sive liber Doctor perplexorum auctore R. Mose Majemone arabico idiomate conscriptus, R. Samuele Abben Thibbone, in linguam hebraeam translatus, novis commentariis uno R. Mosis Narbonnensis, ex antiquissimis manuscriptis deprompto; altero anonymi cujusdam, sub nomine Gibeath hamore adauctus, nunc in lucem editus cura et impensis Isaaci Eucheli. Berlin: Officina Scholae Liberae Judaicae [Juedische Freyschule], 1791. Hebrew title: ... עם ... משה בן מימון ... מורה נבוכים להרב ... ספר מורה התוקר המקובל החכם הפילוסוף משה נרבוני ופירוש גבעת המורה. [10], 108, [1] l. 22 cm.

The anonymous author of *Gibeath hamore*, a Hebrew commentary on the first part of Maimonides' *More Nebuchim* (Guide for the perplexed), the main work of medieval Jewish philosophy, is Salomon Maimon (594). His commentary is not the usual kind that closely follows a text. Maimon intended to clarify passages in Maimonides' book which were in need of amplification and explanation; but, more than that, he desired to supplement Maimonides' medieval views with those at which later philosophical and scientific scholarship had arrived. "The commentary," said an announcement in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of 1792, "is a quintessence of the choicest opinions of old and recent metaphysicians, scientists and mathematicians, and contains treasures of the finest concepts."

In *Gibeath hamore* Maimon cites the arguments which Moses Mendelssohn had used against Spinoza and presents a shortened version of chapters XIII and XIV of Mendelssohn's *Morgenstunden* (567), which contain his refutations of Spinozism and pantheism (l. 100b ff.). "We exist as the effects of God, but not within Him," Maimon says, but he concedes, "the real is one in all creatures and therefore there can be only one substance."

1792

- 600 **Ascher**, Saul. *Leviathan oder Ueber Religion in Ruecksicht des Judenthums*. Berlin: Frankesche Buchhandlung, 1792. [5] l., 246 p. 18 cm.

Saul Ascher (1767–1822), a writer in Berlin who often meddled in politics and was arrested for opposition to the ruling regime, is one of the Jewish litterateurs of the post-Mendelssohnian period who attacked the anti-Semitism rising during the German period of romanticism. This early book is directed against the theory Mendelssohn had propounded in his *Jerusalem*, that Judaism is revealed law. Ascher counters that it is basically a universal religious idea. In this connection he interprets Spinoza's attitude toward Judaism (pp. 147–149). Spinoza, says Ascher, separated faith from reason, rejected whatever did not agree with reason, and, because he knew Jewish religion well, he used it to demolish all religion.

- 601 **Kant**, Immanuel. *Critic der practischen Vernunft*. Zweyte Auflage. Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1792. 292 p. 19 ½ cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1788 (588).

- 602 **Zwey** seltene antisupernaturalistische Manuscripte eines Genannten und eines Ungenannten. *Pendants zu den Wolfenbuettelschen Fragmenten*. Berlin [Giessen], 1792. [1] l., 94 p. 14 cm.

This little book contains a reprint of the Latin *De tribus impostoribus*, which represents the second appearance in print of this falsification, and a reprint of Theodor Ludwig Lau's Spinozistic *Meditationes philosophicae de Deo, mundo, homine*, of 1717 (246).

C.C.F. Schmid of Giessen, Germany, about whom nothing is known, was the editor of this small collection of heretic writings. The entire edition was confiscated; only a few copies escaped.

- 603 **Maimon**, Salomon. *Salomon Maimon's Lebensgeschichte*. Von ihm selbst geschrieben und herausgegeben von K[arl] P[hilipp] Moritz. Berlin: Friedrich Vieweg, 1792–1793. 2 vols. Portrait, [3] l., 292 p.; [6] l., 284 p. 16 cm.

Maimon's frank autobiography was edited by his friend Karl-Philipp Moritz (1757–1793), the novelist and writer on aesthetics and psychology, with whom he shared for a few years the editorship of the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, 1783 ff. (561). In the autobiography, Maimon asserts that the Cabala is nothing but "expanded Spinozism" (vol. 1, p. 141) and Spinozism not atheistic at all, but, quite the contrary, namely "acosmic" (pp. 153 ff.). He reports on his reading of Spinoza whose system, much to the regret of Mendelssohn, he ac-

cepted (vol. 2, pp. 165 ff.), and he sides with Jacobi while expressing sympathy for the injustice done to Mendelssohn (pp. 184 f.; see 564, 570, 572). Lastly, he explains the role that Spinozism played in his *Versuch ueber die Transcendental-philosophie* (594).

1793

- 604 **Bacon**, Francis. *Neues Organon*. Aus dem Lateinischen uebersetzt von Georg Wilhelm Bartholdy. Mit Anmerkungen von Salomon Maimon. Zwei Baende [only vol. 1 appeared]. Berlin: Gottfried Carl Nauck, 1793. 112, 305 p.; plate. 20 cm.

Salomon Maimon (594) contributed to Bartholdy's German translation of Bacon's *Novum organon* an introduction and "Kurzer Ueberblick philosophischer Systeme, und mathematischer Erfindungen bis auf Baco von Verulam" (pp. 164–305). The survey of philosophic systems contains a chapter on Xenophanes as Spinozist (pp. 184 ff.; see also 607), and another on Parmenides as Spinozist (pp. 188 ff.).

- 605 **[Boulainvilliers, Henri de]**. *Traité des trois imposteurs*. En Suisse, de l'imprimerie philosophique, 1793. [1] l., 168, 3 p. 15 ½ cm.

This edition contains the same text and appendices as the edition of 1775 (539).

- 606 **Kant**, Immanuel. *Critik der Urtheilskraft*. Zweyte Auflage. Berlin: F.T. Lagarde, 1793. 60, 482 p. 19 ½ cm.

In the *Critik der Urtheilskraft*, Kant (588) presents his most extensive discussion of Spinoza. Spinoza's system is one of fatalism (pp. 322 f.); it does not fulfill its promise (pp. 325 ff.). In fact, an honest Spinoza has no other alternative than to accept the existence of a moral cause of the universe, namely God, if he desires to maintain morally prescribed purposes.

- 607 **Maimon**, Salomon. *Streifereien im Gebiete der Philosophie*. Erster Theil. Berlin: Wilhelm Vieweg, 1793. 22, 272 p. 20 cm.

The first part of the *Streifereien* (no more was published) contains, among other pieces, "Ueber die Progressen der Philosophie," which Salomon Maimon (594) wrote when angered by what he considered a foolish philosophical prize contest of the Berlin Academy. The essay deals *in extenso* with the compatibility of Leibnitz' and Spinoza's doctrines (pp. 37 ff.); it discusses the difference of Xenophanes' "All is one" from Spinoza's (pp. 32 f.).

- 608 **Meslier**, Jean. *Mémoire des pensées et sentimens . . . sur une partie des abus et des erreurs de la religion chrétienne, pour être adressé à ses paroissiens après*

sa mort, et pour leur servir de témoignage de vérité à eux et à leurs semblables. Dunkirk: Drouillard, An second de la République Française, une et indivisible, [1793/4]. 240 p. 14 ½ cm.

See my notes on my manuscript of Meslier's *Mémoire* (672).

- 609 **Lessing**, Karl Gotthelf. Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Leben, nebst seinem noch uebrigen litterarischen Nachlasse. Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung, 1793–1795. 3 vols. Portrait, [1] l., 452 p., [5] l.; [2] l., 395, [1] p.; 28, 404 p. 15 ½ cm.

The biography of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (536) by his younger brother Karl Gotthelf (b. 1740), a writer and civil servant, contains interesting information on Lessing's attitude toward Spinoza. It provides previously unknown data on Lessing's early Spinoza studies (vol. 1, p. 246). The chapter on Lessing's philosophy and theology (vol. 2, pp. 20–88) deals mainly with the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy (564, 567, 570, 572) and tries to answer the question whether Lessing was really a Spinozist – the brother does not think so. Lastly, the biography made known two unfinished essays by Lessing (pp. 164–171) which might indicate Lessing's pantheistic leanings (pp. 93 ff.). In the first Lessing declares that he cannot conceive of a reality of things outside God; in the second he tries to convince Mendelssohn, who was preparing a new edition of his *Philosophische Schriften* (492), that Leibnitz had not derived his concept of preestablished harmony from Spinoza.

1794

- 610 **Eberstein**, Wilhelm Ludwig Gottlob von. Versuch einer Geschichte der Logik und Metaphysik bey den Deutschen von Leibnitz bis auf gegenwaertige Zeit. Halle: Johann Gottfried Ruff, 1794–1799. 2 vols. [6] l., [524] p.; [1] l., 12 p., [1] l., 508 p., [2] l. 20 cm.

In this history of logic and metaphysics post Leibnitz, Wilhelm Gottlob von Eberstein (1762–1805), a German philosopher whose eclecticism leans heavily on Wolff, surveys the discussion of Spinoza in recent German philosophy by such writers as Jacobi (564, 570, 572), Reimar (536), Rehberg (586), Herder (581), Heydenreich (582, 590, 596), and Ewald (700, 702) (vol. 2, pp. 116–158; see also vol. 1, pp. 20 f. and 439).

1795

- 611 **Bernis**, François-Joachim de Pierres de. La religion vengée[.] Poème en dix chants. Parma: Dans le Palais Royal [Bodoni], 1795. [1] l., portrait, [13] l., 243, [1] p. 15 ½ cm.

François-Joachim de Pierres de Bernis (487) began to write this long poem in 1737. Father René-Joseph Tournemine, the editor of the Jesuit *Mémoires de Trévoux* (203), had encouraged him to translate Cardinal de Polignac's at the time unpublished *Anti-Lucretius* (419) into French, but Polignac advised Bernis to write his own poem against anti-religious philosophies. *Le Spinosisme* (pp. 77–95), Bernis' poetic refutation of Spinoza's philosophy, was written when Bernis was 22 years old, but the full poem was published by Joseph Nicolas d'Azara only after the cardinal's death.

A folio-edition appeared in the same year (612).

- 612 **Bernis**, François-Joachim de Pierres de. La religion vengée[.] Poème en dix chants. Parma: Dans le Palais Royal [Bodoni], 1795. Portrait, [11] l., 226, [1] p. 43 cm.

The rare folio-edition printed by Bodoni of Parma; see my notes on the octavo-edition of the same year (611).

- 613 **Schelling**, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. Ueber die Moeglichkeit einer Form der Philosophie ueberhaupt. Tuebingen: Jakob Friedrich Heerbrandt, 1795. 62 p. 17 ½ cm.

Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854), with Fichte and Hegel one of the great German philosophers of the post-Kantian period, tries to determine in this, his first, publication the position of Spinoza between Descartes and Leibnitz, and states that Spinoza felt the need to give a foundation to the form of human knowledge by carrying the archetypal form of knowledge away from the ego to an entirely different and independent total of possibilities (p. 38).

1796

- 614 **Bernis**, François-Joachim de Pierres de. La religion vengée[.] Poème en dix chants. Ouvrage posthume. N. p., 1796. 175 p. 22 ½ cm.

Unauthorized reprint of Bernis' poem (611).

- 615 **Boulainvilliers**, Henri de. Traité des trois imposteurs, des religions dominantes et du culte, d'après l'analyse conforme à l'histoire: contenant nombre d'observations morales, analogues à celles mises à l'ordre du jour pour l'affermissement de la République, sa gloire, et l'édification des peuples de tous les pays. . . . Philadelphie: Sous les auspices du général Washington; Paris: chez le citoyen Mercier; etc., 1796. [2] l., 77 p., [1] l.; 3 plates. 18 cm.

This edition of the *Traité des trois imposteurs* (665, 667, 539) was edited and published by Claude-François-Xavier Mercier of Compiègne (1763–1800), an

anthologist and publicist working for the cause of the French Revolution. By interspersing the reprint with revolutionary songs and poems, Mercier underlines the topicality of the old anti-religious tract. The edition was published in Paris, and, of course, the imprint "A *Philadelphie, sous les auspices du general Washington*" and the colophon, p. 77, "A *Boston, sous la protection du congrès*" are plain fancy.

- 616 **Reinhold**, Carl Leonhard. *Auswahl vermischter Schriften*. Jena: Johann Michael Mauke, 1796–1797. 2 vols. [3] l., 350 p.; 16, 430 p. 17 cm.

Carl Leopold Reinhold (1758–1823), a German philosopher, was professor at the University of Jena, and consecutively a follower of Kant, Fichte and Jacobi. According to him, the entire history of metaphysics consists of three main epochs of which Spinoza represents the second (vol. 2, p. 150), and his concept of "absolute substance" carries the pantheistic system to perfection (pp. 161–175, 178).

1797

- 617 **Blackmore**, Richard. *The poetical works of Sir R. Blackmore: containing Creation; a philosophical poem, in seven books. To which is prefixed the Life of the author.* . . . London: Cooke, (1797). Frontispiece, 176 p., [2] l.; plates. 14 cm.

See my notes on the first edition of 1712 (196).

- 618 "Spinoza" in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; or, a Dictionary of arts, sciences, and miscellaneous literature; constructed on a plan by which the different sciences and arts are digested into the form of distinct treatises or systems . . . The third edition . . . greatly improved. Vol. 17, title page and pp. 693–698. Edinburgh: A. Bell and C. Macfarquhar, 1797. 28 cm.

This undistinguished essay on Spinoza's life and teachings was probably edited by George Gleig (1753–1840), later bishop of Brechin. Though recognizing that Spinoza's life was "a perpetual contradiction to his opinions," the article harps on Spinoza's "insincerity," and expresses the hope that his politics "shall never be seriously taught by any British subject."

- 619 **Kant**, Immanuel. *Saemmtliche kleine Schriften. Nach der Zeitfolge geordnet*. Koenigsberg und Leipzig, 1797–1798. 4 vols. [3] l., 494 p.; [2] l., 526 p.; [3] l., 612 p.; [2] l., 152 p. 17 ½ cm.

Immanuel Kant (588) twice expressed his philosophical opinions on the Mendelssohn-Jacobi controversy about Spinozism, in "Was heisst sich im

Denken orientiren?" (vol. 3, pp. 275–304) and "Einige Bemerkungen zu Jacobs Pruefung der Mendelssohnschen Morgenstunden" (pp. 305–314).

The first essay, originally published in *Berliner Monatsschrift*, 1786, also contains his defense against those critics who found that his *Critik der reinen Vernunft* supported Spinozism (pp. 296–298); the second was first printed as an appendix to Ludwig Heinrich Jakob, *Pruefung der Mendelssohnschen Morgenstunden*, 1786 (571).

1798

- 620 [**Claudius**, Matthias]. *Asmus omnia sua secum portans, oder Saemmtliche Werke des Wandsbecker Bothen*. "Beym Verfasser, und in Commission bey Fr. Perthes in Hamburg." [1798–1802] (vols. 1–7 in 6); "1812. Auf Kosten des Verfassers." (vol. 8). 8 vols. in 7. Frontispiece, 16, 232 p.; 10, 198 p.; 6 p., [1] l., 248 p.; 8, 224 p.; 6, 212 p., [1] l.; frontispiece, 14, 326 p.; 8, 246 p.; plates. 14 ½ cm.

Claudius' *Zwey Recensionen in Sachen der Herren Lessing, M. Mendelssohn und Jacobi*, 1786 (569) is found in vol. 5 [1798], pp. 170–203.

1799

- 621 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Jacobi an Fichte*. Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1799. 10 p., [1] l., 160 p. 22 ½ cm.

Jacobi and Fichte is one of the polemical writings connected with the *Atheismusstreit* of 1798. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (629) had been accused of atheism and Jacobi used the opportunity to establish once more the God of his *Glaubensphilosophie* in this long letter to Fichte.

In ingenious manner Jacobi recognizes that Fichte's speculative philosophy may be understood as a kind of "reversed Spinozism" (pp. 3 f.). He compares Fichte's alleged atheism with Spinoza's. Although the philosophy was atheistic, the philosopher was not; indeed the philosophy of the "great, nay Saint Benedictus" is religion similar to Fénelon's (pp. 40 ff.); see also p. 91.

See also *Ueber den Briefsteller Jacobi*, 1800 (628).

- 622 **Nieuhoff**, Bernardus. *Over Spinozisme*. Harderwijk: J. van Kasteel, 1799. [3] l., 372 p. 22 cm.

Bernardus Nieuhoff (1747–1831), Dutch writer, orator and professor of philosophy, announces in the preface that he will present the views of Spinoza objectively and neither defend nor refute him. Actually, however, the book is an unqualified eulogy of the philosopher. Equipped with a thorough knowledge

of Spinoza's books and the Spinoza literature, Nieuhoff discusses Spinoza's life, his character, the history of Spinozism and the main concepts and problems of his philosophy. The spirit in which this is done is indicated by Nieuhoff's choice of mottoes, namely quotes from Sylvain Maréchal (559) and Vanini.

- 623 [Schleiermacher, Friedrich]. Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verehrern. Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1799. [2] l., 312, [1] p. 20 cm.

In his significant *Ueber die Religion*, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), theologian, philosopher and a main exponent of the German Romantic movement, laid the foundation for a new understanding of religion as a matter of immediate intuition. Here is found the poetic homage to Spinoza so expressive of the new attitude towards the philosopher: "Offer with me reverentially a lock as a sacrifice to the manes of sacred cast-out Spinoza! The supreme world spirit pervaded him; the infinite was his beginning and end, the universe his sole and eternal love. In sacred innocence and deep humility he reflected in the eternal world and looked on how he, too, was its lovable mirror. He was full of religion and filled with holy spirit, and therefore he stands, alone and unrivalled, master in his art but above the profane guild, without disciples and citizenship" (p. 54 f.).

1800

- 624 Berger, Immanuel. Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie oder Leben und Meinungen der originellsten Denker aller Zeiten ueber Gott und Religion, historisch dargestellt. Berlin: Langische Buchhandlung, 1800. [2] l., 8 p., [1] l., 450 p. 20 cm.

Johann Gottfried Immanuel Berger (1773–1803), German professor of theology, regards Spinoza's philosophy as a "masterpiece of the human spirit" and the culmination of the Cartesian trend toward making the whole of philosophy into philosophy of religion. Spinoza is, as Berger repeats after Herder, an "arch-theist before all theists" (pp. 396–409).

- 625 Diderot, Denis. Oeuvres . . . publiées sur les manuscrits de l'auteur, par Jacques-André Naigeon. . . Paris: Deterville, an VIII [1800]. 15 vols. 17 cm.

The second edition of Diderot's works published by his friend Jacques-André Naigeon (598). The edition contains, in vol. 1, *Principes de la philosophie morale* (532) and *Pensées philosophiques* (409), and in vol. 7, p. 299, the article "Spinozistes" from the *Encyclopédie* (598); see also vol. 5, p. 467 and vol. 6, pp. 90 and 96.

- 626 Herder, Johann Gottfried. Gott. Einige Gespraechen ueber Spinozas System; nebst Shaftesbury's Naturhymnus. Zweite, verkuerzte und vermehrte Ausgabe. Gotha: Karl Wilhelm Ettinger, 1800. 24, 336 p. 15 ½ cm.

The second edition of Herder's *Gott*; the changes from the first edition of 1787 (581) do not affect the general tenor of the book.

- 627 M[aréchal] L, Sylvain. Dictionnaire des athées anciens et modernes. Paris: Grabit, an VIII [1800]. [2] l., 72, 524 p. 21 cm.

Sylvain Maréchal (559) wrote the *Dictionnaire* inspired by the astronomer Lalande who, like Maréchal, indulged in his atheistic opinions with almost mystical enthusiasm. The book lists many thinkers of the past and many contemporaries as Spinozists or atheists — and therefore truly moral men (pp. xxxv, 14, 42, 51, 52, 56, 82, 92, 100, 102, 181, 184, 186, 193, 202, 204, 222, 236, 240, 250, 280, 286, 296, 328, 332, 338, 409, 432, 471, 510, 521). Spinoza himself is eulogized on pp. 446 ff.

- 628 Ueber den Briefsteller Jacobi an Fichte. N. p., 1800. 4, 52 p. 16 cm.

This little book by an unknown author is a critique of Jacobi's *Jacobi an Fichte*, 1799 (621). It points out Jacobi's illogic and misunderstandings, and includes in its criticism Jacobi's references to Spinoza (pp. 3 f., 18 ff., 40 ff., 45).

1802

- 629 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre. Neue unveränderte Auflage. Tuebingen: Johann George Cotta, 1802. 12, 448 p. 21 cm.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), professor of philosophy in Jena and Berlin, one of the great system builders of the post-Kantian period, offers in the *Grundlage* (originally published in 1794) the foundations of his theory of knowledge. In it he defines his new relation to the position of Spinoza who, Fichte states, accepted the unity of "empirical consciousness" but totally denied "pure consciousness." There exist only two completely consistent systems, the critical which recognized the limit of the "I am" and the Spinozistic one which transcends it (pp. 14 f., 44).

- 630 Garve, Christian. Ueber das Daseyn Gottes. Eine nachgelassene Abhandlung . . . Aus dem funften Theile der Versuche besonders abgedruckt. Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1802. 8, 290 p. 16 cm.

Christian Garve (1742–1798), a professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig and later a member of the Berlin Academy, expounds in this posthumous book the principles of natural religion. In an appendix, “Ueber das theologische System des Spinoza” (pp. 282–290), Garve concludes that Spinoza, like the theists, used a merely metaphorical expression to denote the relation between world and God.

- 631 **Massillon**, Jean Baptiste. Sermons . . . To which is prefixed the Life of the author. Selected and translated by William Dickson . . . A new edition. London: W. Baynes, 1802. 3 vols. 12, 213 p., [1] l.; [2] l., 246 p.; [2] l., 267, 12 p. 19 cm.

English translation of the famous sermons of Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663–1742), the French bishop and member of the Congregation of the Oratory. In his Lent sermon “Des Doutes sur la religion,” he included a fiery attack on “that monster Spinoza” (vol. 3, pp. 42 f.). Nourrisson, *Spinoza et le naturalisme contemporain*, Paris, 1866, p. 124, dates the sermon as of 1698; Vernière, *Spinoza et la pensée française*, vol. 1, 1954, p. 286, dates it as prior to 1704.

1803

- 632 **Berkeley**, George. Alciphron, or The minute philosopher. In seven dialogues. Containing an apology for the Christian religion, against those who are called free-thinkers . . . The first American, from the fourth London edition. New Haven: Increase Cooke & Co., 1803. 13, 388 p., [1] l. 21 cm.

The first American edition of *Alciphron* (317).

- 633 **Garve**, Christian. Briefe . . . an Christian Felix Weisse und einige andere Freunde. Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1803. 2 vols. 14, 464 p.; [1] l., 398 p. 16 cm.

In his letters to Christian Felix Weisse, the poet and dramatist who was one of the editors of the *Neue Bibliothek der schoenen Wissenschaften und Kuenste*, Garve (630) reports on developments in the Mendelssohn-Jacobi *Pantheismusstreit* (vol. 1, pp. 232, 239 f., 244 f., 270, 371 ff.) and his own study of Spinoza (p. 293), of whose methods and results he disapproves.

- 634 **Kausler**, Carl Ludwig Friedrich. Dissertatio philosophica sistens disquisitiones quasdam in Spinozam. Quam praeside . . . Andrea Henrico Schott logices, metaphysices, eloquentiae et poeseos prof. publ. ord. pro summis in philosophia honoribus obtinendis . . . publice defendet auctor Carolus Ludovicus Frider. Kausler. . . Tuebingen: Litteris Hopfferianis, (1803). 26 p. 20 ½ cm.

Kausler's dissertation and its evaluation by his teacher, the Tuebingen professor of philosophy Andreas Heinrich Schott (pp. 25 f.), demonstrate the influence

of Jacobi's Spinoza interpretation on academic teaching. Kausler identifies Spinozism with the contemporaneous philosophy of absolute identity.

1804

- 635 **Schott**, Andreas Heinrich. Dissertatio historico-philosophica de Spinozismo. Quam praeside Andrea Henrico Schott philos. theoreti. eloqui. ac poesi. prof. p.o. pro obtinendis magisterii philosophici honoribus . . . publice defendent Fridericus Gustavus Schoder, Lauffensis. Ernestus Fridericus Hochstetter, Tubingensis. [Etc.] Tuebingen: Reis et Schmid, [1804]. 48 p. 20 ½ cm.

This dissertation presents a survey of the books and controversies of the past two decades which concerned themselves with Spinoza. It is followed by a number of propositions dealing with Spinoza's philosophy which eight candidates for master's degrees defended with Professor Schott presiding (634).

1806

- 636 **Peignot**, Etienne Gabriel. Dictionnaire critique, littéraire et bibliographique des principaux livres condamnés au feu, supprimés ou censurés: précédé d'un discours sur ces sortes d'ouvrages. Paris: A.A. Renouard, 1806. 2 vols. 40, 343 p.; [2] l., 295 p. 20 ½ cm.

In this dictionary of suppressed books — which itself was suppressed — Etienne Gabriel Peignot (1767–1849), French bibliographer, lists and comments on the works of Spinoza and of Spinozists. Spinoza's books and those attributed to him are described in vol. 2, pp. 131 f., 142–144; Lucas' Spinoza biography in vol. 1, pp. xxxvii f.; Lau (246, 602); Cuffeler (50); Stosch (674); Toland (149, 251); Boulainvilliers (665–667) are among the Spinozists whose writings are discussed (vol. 1, p. 232; vol. 2, pp. 144–146, 160 ff., 211).

- 637 [**Schleiermacher**, Friedrich]. Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verehrern. Zweite Ausgabe. Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1806. [1] l., 9, [1], 372 p. 22 cm.

Second edition of Schleiermacher's *Ueber die Religion* (623).

1808

- 638 **Francke**, Georg Samuel. Versuch ueber die von der erlauchten Koeniglich-Daenischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Kopenhagen im Jahr 1805 bekannt gemachte Preisfrage: “Quaenam fuere recentiore ac recentissimo aevo

fata Spinozismi, si tamen verus est, qui hodie a quibusdam perhibetur Spinozismus. Nocuitne an profuit rei philosophicae in universum et speciatim philosophicae de Deo?" Oder: ueber die neuern Schicksale des Spinozismus und seinen Einfluss auf die Philosophie ueberhaupt und die Vernunfttheologie insbesondere . . . Eine Schrift, welche den fuer 1805 ausgesetzten Preis erhalten hat. . . Schleswig: Serringhausen, 1808. [4] l., 16 p., [2] l., 98, [1] p. 20 cm.

Georg Samuel Francke (1773–1840), teacher, pastor and, since 1811, professor of theology at Kiel, Germany, was all his life a proponent of Wolff's philosophy. His book, a prize-winning work written for the Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen, deals with the more recent development of Spinozism and its influence on philosophy in general and rational theology in particular. Francke, though far from being theologically dogmatic and recognizing that Spinozism is not identical with atheism, nevertheless points out the damage its pantheistic consequences can cause.

1809

- 639 **Schelling**, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. *Philosophische Schriften*. Erster Band. Landshut: Philipp Kruell, 1809. 12, 24, 511 p. 21 cm.

This first volume of the *Philosophische Schriften* of Schelling (613) — no further volume of collected writings appeared during his life-time — contains works published earlier as well as the *Philosophische Untersuchungen ueber das Wesen der menschlichen Freyheit*, published here for the first time.

Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie, 1795, pp. xiii–xxiv, 1–114, presents the outline of a system à la Spinoza in which the absolute *Ich* fills the role of Spinoza's Substance; *Philosophische Briefe ueber Dogmatismus und Criticismus*, 1795, pp. 115–200, shows Schelling closest to being a Spinozist — it is filled throughout with deep admiration for Spinoza; *Philosophische Untersuchungen ueber das Wesen der Freyheit*, pp. 397–511, summarizes once more Schelling's views on Spinoza in his period of Neo-Spinozism (pp. 412–419, especially pp. 417 ff.).

1810

- 640 **Castres**, Antoine Sabatier de. *Apologie de Spinosa et du Spinosisme, contre les athées, les incrédules et contre les théologiens [sic] scolastiques-platoniciens*. Paris: Fournier frères, 1810. [2] l., 4, 136 p. 17 ½ cm.

Abbé and protégé of Helvétius at the same time, Antoine Sabatier de Castres (1742–1817) led a strange double life. His book is equally strange and confused. He eulogizes Spinoza as the most misjudged of the sages, "a modest and vir-

tuous man who lived like a Christian and who, instead of being put at the head of the enemies of God, should have been made a saint" (p. 13). Amazingly enough, de Castres declares that the Protestants were among the first to attack and decry Spinoza because they could not forgive him for having embraced the Catholic religion (p. 42).

1811

- 641 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. *Von den goettlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung*. Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1811. 8, 222 p. 19 ½ cm.

Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi returns in this, his last, book to his old obsession with Spinoza (564, 570, 583, 621). Schelling is accused of a Spinozising pantheism (p. 127). Spinoza, Jacobi declares, is the inventor and first teacher of the "system of absolute identity" (pp. 193 ff.) and Kant is the founder of a second "sublime Spinozism" (pp. 196 ff.).

Schelling refuted Jacobi's attack a year later in his *Denkmal der Schrift von den goettlichen Dingen* (643).

1812

- 642 **Fries**, Jakob Friedrich. *Von deutscher Philosophie Art und Kunst*. Ein Votum fuer Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi gegen F. W. J. Schelling. Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1812. 102 p., [1] l. 18 ½ cm.

Jakob Friedrich Fries (1773–1843), one of the most original post-Kantian German philosophers, was for some time neglected, but is now recognized as one of the truly important figures in German philosophy besides Fichte, Schelling and Hegel.

In 1811, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi published *Von den goettlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung* (641) in which he attacked Schelling's "philosophy of identity" as Spinozism. Schelling replied in his *Denkmal der Schrift von den goettlichen Dingen* (643). In the same year, 1812, Fries' book appeared — a vote in favor of Jacobi. The chapter "Jacobi's Gabe und seine Fehler" (pp. 38 ff.) reviews the by then old Jacobi-Mendelssohn controversy about Lessing's Spinozism and the subsequent polemics of Jacobi against Kant, Fichte and Schelling. In each instance Jacobi was right, Fries states.

- 643 **Schelling**, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph. *Denkmal der Schrift von den goettlichen Dingen etc. des Herrn Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi und der ihm in derselben gemachten Beschuldigung eines absichtlich taeuschenden, Luege redenden Atheismus*. Eh, proh dolor! res eo jam pervenit, ut, qui aperte fatentur,

se Dei ideam non habere et Deum nullo modo cognoscere, non erubescant, philosophos atheismi accusare. Ben. de Spinoza. Tuebingen: J.G. Cotta, 1812. 6 p., [1] l., 215, [1] p. 21 cm.

This book is Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling's (613, 639) reply to Jacobi's *Von den goettlichen Dingen* which had appeared the year before (641). A formidable counterattack against Jacobi's attempt to denounce Schelling as atheist and Spinozist, it uses sharp irony and bitter indignation to demonstrate Jacobi's insidious character. Schelling reviews at length (pp. 35–62) Jacobi's role — a questionable one in Schelling's opinion — in the controversy with Moses Mendelssohn (564, 570, 572).

This book created a tremendous commotion. The most noteworthy writing of those who took Jacobi's side was Jakob Friedrich Fries' *Von deutscher Philosophie*, 1812 (642).

- 644 **Jacobi**, Friedrich Heinrich. Werke. Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1812–1825. 6 vols. (vol. 4 in 3 parts). [1], 16, 404 p., [1] l.; 6, 544 p.; 36 p., [2] l., 568 p.; 54 p., [1] l., 253 p.; [1] l., 276 p.; 6, 430 p.; 20, 482 p.; 6, 552 p. 22 ½ cm.

The collected works of Jacobi, of which the first three volumes were edited by the author and the rest, following his death, by Friedrich Koeppen and Friedrich Roth, contain the following books related to Spinoza: *David Hume ueber den Glauben, oder Idealismus und Realismus*, 1787 (583) (vol. 2, pp. 1–310); *Jacobi an Fichte*, 1799 (621) (vol. 3, pp. 1–57); *Von den goettlichen Dingen und ihrer Offenbarung*, 1811 (641) (vol. 3, pp. 245–460); *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1785 and 1789 (564, 591), (vols. 4₁ and 4₂). New introductions have been added to most of them; the introduction to *David Hume*, etc., vol. 2, pp. 1–123, is at the same time an introduction by Jacobi to all of his works and defines once more his attitude towards Spinoza. Volume 4₃ contains the correspondence between J.G. Hamann and Jacobi, and is filled with references to Spinoza; so is other correspondence in vol. 1, pp. 384, 394 and vol. 3, pp. 467, 491 ff., 500 f., 519, 521 ff., 529 ff.

1813

- 645 **Wolff**, Sabattia Joseph. Maimoniana. Oder Rhapsodien zur Charakteristik Salomon Maimon's. Aus seinem Privatleben gesammelt. Berlin: G. Hayn, 1813. 8, 260 p., [2] l. 17 ½ cm.

Sabattia Joseph Wolff, a friend of Salomon Maimon, was a physician about whom little is known. In 1819 he published a pamphlet against the German anti-Semitic writers of that time and called himself in it "an old man for whom there is little joyful in the world anymore."

The *Maimoniana* contains mostly anecdotal material on the life and work of the Lithuanian Jew who became one of the most forceful and independent

interpreters of Kant's philosophy (594). Some of Wolff's material is first-hand, some evidently taken from Maimon's *Lebensgeschichte*, 1792–1793 (603). Wolff talks about Maimon's Spinoza studies and Mendelssohn's reaction to them (p. 57); he suggests that Maimon's low opinion of men stemmed from Spinoza (p. 157 f.). He compares Maimon's neglect of his dress to Spinoza's (p. 215); and feels that the decent burial Spinoza received testifies to a more enlightened spirit among his contemporaries than was shown on the occasion of Maimon's death (p. 253).

1815

- 646 **Lommatzsch**, Bernhard Heinrich Carl. De deo Spinozae commentatio critica quam . . . pro venia scholas habendi A.D. XI. mensis Martii a. MDCCCXV. publice defendet Bernard. Henr. Carolus Lommatzsch. . . Jena: Schlotter, [1815]. [1] l., 13, [1] p. 22 ½ cm.

Bernhard Heinrich Carl Lommatzsch, a Hegelian who taught philosophy, in this thesis written to qualify him for academic teaching, discusses Spinoza's concept of God much in Jacobi's manner.

- 647 [**Hardenberg**, Friedrich Leopold von]. Novalis Schriften. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck und Fr[iedrich] Schlegel (vol. 3: Ludwig Tieck und Ed [uard] v. Buelow). Berlin: (vol. 1 and 2:) Realschulbuchhandlung, 1815; (vol. 3:) G. Reimer, 1846. 3 vols. (vol. 1 and 2: Dritte Auflage). Portrait (from vol. 3), 38 p., [1] l., 264 p.; [2] l., 291 p.; 14, 324 p. 16 ½ cm.

Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg (1772–1801), better known under his nom de plume, Novalis, was one of the great poets of the German romantic movement. Spinoza, with whom he became acquainted through his early study of Fichte and Schelling (613, 629, 639, 643) plays an important role in Novalis' mystical and philosophical conceptions. His characterization of Spinoza as "Gott-trunkener Mensch," God-intoxicated man, and Spinozism as "oversaturation with divinity" (vol. 2, p. 265) deeply influenced the German romanticists. Novalis considers Spinozism as realistic idealism founded on higher belief (p. 120); he is intrigued by Spinoza's "idea of a categorical, imperative, beautiful or perfect knowledge, a self-satisfying knowledge, a knowledge annihilating all other knowledge" and characterizes it as a "voluptuous knowledge," the kind which underlies all mysticism (pp. 251 f.); see also vol. 3, p. 139.

1817

- 648 **Coleridge**, Samuel Taylor. Biographia literaria; or biographical sketches of my literary life and opinions. London: Rest Fenner, 1817. 2 vols. [2] l., 296 p.; [2] l., 309, [3] p. 20 ½ cm.

Influenced by the German Spinoza renaissance, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), the English poet, became an enthusiastic reverer of Spinoza; his Spinoza studies and his talks about Spinoza with his friends introduced the philosopher to 19th century English literature. Spinoza, says Coleridge, refined the system of dualism introduced by Descartes (vol. 1, pp. 128 ff.); his ethics are compatible with religion (p. 144) and pantheism is not necessarily irreligious (pp. 248 ff.). Coleridge tells of his difficulties in reconciling personality with infinity when his head was with Spinoza and his heart with Paul and John (p. 196 and vol. 2, pp. 156 f.). His literary biography concludes with his credo that Pauline doctrine harmonizes with Spinoza's *Ethica* (vol. 2, pp. 307 ff.).

- 649 **Herbart**, Johann Friedrich. *Gespraech ueber das Boese*. Koenigsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1817. 8, 184 p. 14 cm.

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), who at the time he wrote this book occupied Kant's chair at the University of Koenigsberg, developed a realistic philosophy in opposition to Kant's critical philosophy as well as to the systems of Fichte and Hegel. His teachings exercised a strong influence on the 19th century university philosophy of Germany. In *Gespraech ueber das Boese* he introduces a follower of Spinoza and demonstrates, by refuting his ideas on evil, natural law, self-love of God and freedom, the falseness of modern philosophies influenced by Spinoza.

1821

- 650 **Shelley**, Percy Bysshe. *Queen Mab*. London: W. Clark, 1821. 182 p., [1] l. 23 cm.

Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), the English poet, was a student of Spinoza. During the winter of 182½ he was working on an English translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus* for which Byron was to write the introduction. A Latin quote from the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* with its English translation appears in the notes on *Queen Mab* (p. 142), a poem remarkable for its unorthodox views of morals and religion.

1822

- 651 **Staeudlin**, Carl Fridrich. *Geschichte der Moralphilosophie*. Hanover: Helwing, 1822, 22, 1055 p. 20 ½ cm.

Carl Fridrich Staeudlin (1761–1826), professor of theology at the University of Goettingen, a theological rationalist following Kant, who later turned supernaturalist, concludes his critical summary of Spinoza's ethical views (pp. 762–744)

with the statement that Spinoza corrupted and falsified all ethical ideas, judgments and feelings of man (p. 772).

1825

- 652 **Krug**, Wilhelm Traugott. *Spinozae de iure naturae sententia denuo examinata. Symbolarum ad historiam philosophiae particula quarta qua philosophiae doctorum et ll. aa. magistrorum creationem annuam d. xvii. Febr. a. mdcccxxv. in ordinis philosophorum conclavi peractam. . . .* Leipzig: Starit, (1825). 20 p. 22 cm.

Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770–1842), professor of philosophy at the University of Leipzig, summarizes Spinoza's statements on natural law on the occasion of the awarding of doctoral and master's degrees.

- 653 **Hemsterhuys**, François. *Oeuvres philosophiques*. Nouvelle édition, revue, augmentée, et accompagnée d'une notice sur Hemsterhuys, et d'un coup d'oeil sur sa philosophie, par Sylvain van de Weyer. . . . Louvain: Fr. Michel, 1825–1826. 2 vols. 24, 581 (misprinted as 381), [3] p.; [3] l., 318 p., [1] l.; plates. 15 ½ cm.

Franz Hemsterhuys (1721–1790), a Dutch government official, and author of aesthetic and psychological writings, was an intimate friend of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi whose philosophical views about religion he shared. The second volume of his *Oeuvres* contains, pp. 115–139, a letter from Jacobi to Hemsterhuys which first appeared in Jacobi's *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1785 (564) and which, as the editor says (vol. 1, p. xi), gives an idea of Spinoza's system and an analysis of the system of Hemsterhuys.

1826

- 654 **Raumer**, Friedrich von. *Ueber die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Begriffe von Recht, Staat und Politik*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1826. 8, 234 p. 18 cm.

Friedrich von Raumer (1781–1873), professor of history at the University of Berlin and a friend of many German romanticists, presents a detailed rejection of Spinoza's ideas on law and state (pp. 44–52), although his friend Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger (655) referred to Spinoza in a letter to him as "our mutual teacher."

- 655 **Solger**, Wilhelm Ferdinand. *Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*. Herausgegeben von Ludwig Tieck und Friedrich von Raumer. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1826. 2 vols. 16, 780 p.; [1] l., 784, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

Wilhelm Ferdinand Solger (1770–1819), one of the most important writers on aesthetics and philosophy of religion of the German Romantic school, was professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin.

His posthumous works and his letters, published by Ludwig Tieck, the poet, and Friedrich von Raumer (654), his university colleague, testify to the strong influence Spinoza had on Solger, see vol. 1, pp. 131, 144, 145 ff. (to Raumer: “our mutual teacher Spinoza”), 150, 152, 170, 175 (“the dear words of the pure, naive sage”); other references pp. 512, 580, 599, 605.

- 656 **Jaesche**, Gottlob Benjamin. *Der Pantheismus nach seinen verschiedenen Hauptformen, seinem Ursprung und Fortgange, seinem speculativen und praktischen Werth und Gehalt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kritik dieser Lehre in alter und neuer Philosophie*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1826–1832. 3 vols. 8, 240 p.; 5, 325, [3] p.; [1] l., 32, 404 p. 19 ½ cm.

Gottlob Benjamin Jaesche (1762–1842), professor of philosophy at the University of Dorpat (Estonia), was a friend of Kant whose philosophy he first accepted, later turning to the viewpoints of Jacobi and Fries. His book discusses Spinoza’s pantheism in great detail (*Der Pantheismus der neuern realistisch-dogmatischen Metaphysik, als Spinozismus*, vol. 2, pp. 221–325). Jaesche also deals with the relation of Spinoza’s philosophy to pantheistic philosophies of others, see in particular vol. 1, pp. 2, 10–46, 52, 60 ff., 97 ff.; vol. 2, pp. XII–LVIII; vol. 3, pp. XIV, XXVII and throughout this volume where he discusses mainly Fichte, Schelling and Hegel.

Heinrich Ritter, *Die Halbkantianer und der Pantheismus*, 1827 (658) disputes the first volume of Jaesche’s work.

1827

- 657 **Hegel**, Georg Friedrich Wilhelm. *Encyclopaedie der philosophischen Wissenschaften im Grundrisse . . . Zweite Ausgabe*. Heidelberg: Osswald, 1827. 42, 544 p. 19 ½ cm.

The *Encyclopaedie*, in which Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770–1831) for the first time offered the whole of his philosophy, appeared in 1817, but only the second edition of 1827 contains the passages which are pertinent to Hegel’s attitude toward Spinozism. According to Hegel, if correctly understood, Spinozism is neither pantheism nor atheism but acosmism (pp. XIV–XVI, 59–61, 528).

- 658 **Ritter**, Heinrich. *Die Halb-Kantianer und der Pantheismus. Eine Streitschrift, veranlasst durch Meinungen der Zeit und bei Gelegenheit von Jaesche’s Schrift ueber den Pantheismus*. Berlin: T. Trautwein, 1827. 8, 91, [1] p. 19 cm.

Heinrich Ritter (1791–1869), a professor of philosophy at the universities of Berlin, Kiel and Goettingen, who developed a Christian theism, wrote this book to refute the first volume of Gottlob Benjamin Jaesche’s *Der Pantheismus nach seinen verschiedenen Hauptformen*, 1826 (656). Ritter criticizes Jaesche’s understanding of Spinoza, pp. 5, 16, 19–22. Jaesche, he says, makes the mistake of regarding Spinozism as “consistent pantheism” by following Jacobi’s interpretation (564) and not even considering Herder’s milder explanation (581) (pp. 19–22, see also pp. 5, 16).

1828

- 659 **Herbart**, Johann Friedrich. *Allgemeine Metaphysik, nebst den Anfaengen der philosophischen Naturlehre. . . .* Koenigsberg: August Wilhelm Unzer, 1828–1829. 2 vols. 30, 608 p.; 22, 679, [1] p. 20 cm.

Johann Friedrich Herbart, who in his *Gespraechen ueber das Boese*, 1817 (649) had rebuked Spinoza in relatively mild fashion, rejects him in strong terms in his *Allgemeine Metaphysik*. He recommends the study of Spinoza because his errors must be evident to every unbiased reader. He blames the recent philosophers, men like Jacobi, Schleiermacher and Schelling, for having glorified Spinoza. But his analysis of Spinoza’s philosophies often goes to the core. Thus Herbart, who stimulated some of his students to study the various aspects of Spinoza’s system, stands at the demarcation line between a predominantly *weltanschauliche* attitude toward Spinoza and the objective scholarly study of his system. See, in particular vol. 1, pp. XXVII f. (Spinoza vs. Kant), 123–127, 128–150 (“Ontologie des Spinoza”), 150–168 (“Kosmologie des Spinoza”), 169–177 (“Vergleichung zwischen Spinoza, Leibnitz und Kant”), 180, 183 ff., 192 ff., 200 ff., 206 ff., 290 ff., 493 ff.

1829

- 660 **Fichte**, Immanuel Herrmann. *Beitraege zur Charakteristik der neueren Philosophie, zu Vermittlung ihrer Gegensatze*. Sulzbach: J.E. v. Seidel, 1829. [1] l., 30, 416 p. 18 cm.

Immanuel Herrmann Fichte (1796–1879), son of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, was professor of philosophy in Bonn and Tuebingen and, in opposition to Hegel, the proponent of an “ethical theism.” In his *Beitraege*, he examines Jacobi’s philosophy with special reference to Spinoza, goes back to the roots of current philosophy and concludes that Spinoza must be considered as its dialectical point of departure (pp. 195 ff., 205 ff., 228 ff., 263–271).

1830

- 661 **Fichte**, Immanuel Herrmann. Johann Gottlieb Fichte's Leben und litterarischer Briefwechsel. . . . Sulzbach: J.E. v. Seidel, 1830–1831. 2 vols. Portrait, 16, 584 p.; 14, 474 p. 18 cm.

The first volume, containing the biography of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (629) by his son, Immanuel Herrmann (660), mentions Fichte's Spinoza studies and details his subsequent positions with respect to Spinoza (pp. 28 ff., 300 ff., 419, 423). A letter from Fichte to Reinhold on his and Schelling's closeness to Spinoza appears in the second volume which contains the correspondence (p. 236).

1831

- 662 **Marbach**, Gotthard Oswald. Gedaechtnissrede auf Benedict von Spinoza, gehalten vor einer Versammlung seiner akademischen Mitbuerger am 21. Februar 1831. Halle: Friedrich Ruff, 1831. 31 p. 21½ cm.

Gotthard Oswald Marbach (1810–1890), a professor at the University of Leipzig and a follower of Hegel, gave this memorial lecture while still a student. Well-meaning but naive, it is greatly based on the biography which Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus included in his edition of Spinoza's *Opera . . . omnia*, 1802 (701).

1832

- 663 **Fichte**, Immanuel Herrmann. Ueber Gegensatz, Wendepunkt und Ziel heutiger Philosophie . . . Erster kritischer Theil. Heidelberg: J.H.B. Mohr, 1832. 300 p. 21½ cm.

Immanuel Herrmann Fichte (629) discusses in this work (only the first part appeared) the relationship between Hegel and Spinoza (pp. 39–52). Fichte considers Hegel's system as "the methodical completion of Spinoza's ethics"; Hegel's philosophy is an "objective system of philosophy" of which Spinoza provided the "first draft."

- 664 **Freystadt**, Moritz. Philosophia cabbalistica et pantheismus. Ex fontibus primariis adumbravit atque inter se comparavit Dr. M. Freystadt. Koenigsberg: Borntraeger, 1832. 15, 143, [1] p. 20 cm.

Moritz Freystadt (ca. 1810–1870), shows in this, his first, book, dedicated to his teacher Herbart, that the Cabala and pantheism substantially differ. Pantheism is atheism and the Cabala theistic. Spinozism and Schelling's system of absolute

identity are perfect forms of dualistic pantheism (pp. 95–98). There are certain similarities between the Cabala and Spinozism (pp. 102 f., 110 f.), but the differences are basic (pp. 119 f., 128, 137 ff., 143.)

Manuscripts and Autograph Letters

- 665 **Boulainvilliers**, Henri de. L'esprit de Baruck Spinoza par M. de Boulainvilliers [sic]. Manuscript, [54] l. 18½ cm.

This is one of the atheistic texts circulated secretly among French libertins. Usually it appears under the title *Traité des trois imposteurs* (667). Another of my manuscripts of this text, combining both title versions, has the title *De tribus impostoribus L'esprit de B. Spin. par M. de Boulainvilliers* (668). A great deal has been written about these manuscripts from the day they made their appearance until the present time. Much of this writing, far from clarifying the origin and role of the manuscripts, has further obscured the issues, particularly when the French *Traité des trois imposteurs* was confused with the legendary Latin *De tribus impostoribus*, a non-existing book talked about since the Middle Ages and forged in the early 18th century by two adventurers eager to cash in on the requests of rich collectors.

Ira O. Wade, *The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, Princeton, 1938, agrees with the authorship as ascribed in this manuscript and states "the author of the treatise was undoubtedly Boulainvilliers." Comte Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), who died in exile in London, was by character and scholarly inclination a radical, though like most contemporaries of his bent he often had to hide his sentiments. His historical works favoring governmental reform appeared after his death and so did his *Vie de Mahomet* in which he values Islam higher than Christianity. Many philosophical works critical of religion were attributed to him, probably more than he wrote.

His continual pre-occupation with Spinoza is well-documented. Following *L'esprit de Baruck Spinoza* one finds in my manuscript a *Critique de Spinoza* (666); it appeared in book form as late as 1767 (509). Another work of his was published as *Réfutation de Spinoza*, although it was not a refutation at all, in Fénelon, etc., *Réfutation des erreurs de Benoit de Spinoza*, 1731 (315) and a French translation of his *Ethica* was published in 1907.

Other writers and scholars attribute the *L'esprit de Spinoza* to Jean Maximilien Lucas (d. 1697), a French journalist who, after having made his way to Holland, carried on a violent campaign against Louis XIV in various periodicals published by him. The main reason these modern writers, such as A. Wolf (*The oldest biography of Spinoza*, 1927, pp. 26 f.), believe Lucas to be the author

of the *L'esprit de Spinoza*, is that the latter work appears in some manuscripts and in its first printed edition of 1719 together with *La vie de Spinoza*, which for good reasons, although not with certainty, is attributed to Lucas. However, this is a weak argument since it was common practice in 18th century freethought literature to combine works by different authors.

I side with Wade in attributing authorship to Boulainvilliers. He is credited as the author in 18th century manuscripts, for example in two of mine, whereas Lucas is not, and, most importantly, the text is close to other writings of Boulainvilliers and the general trend of his thinking.

L'esprit de Spinoza is a virulent attack on religion and the founders of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It does not represent, reproduce, or illustrate the genuine thought of Spinoza, but it shows how germs of his thought have been transformed, and often distorted, into a crass and cruel genre of anti-religion common to the radical *philosophes*. Boulainvilliers and his kin are Spinozists in such works as *L'esprit de Spinoza* not because they reflect faithfully their master's ideas, but because they use his name as a symbol of their revolt against religion and its institutions. Moses, Jesus and Mohammed are charlatans, magicians or fakers; their notions of the deity are founded on the fears of the unenlightened man; their ethics drawn from or inferior to those of the ancient philosophers. The theologies of their dogmatizers are false philosophies and constructed by shrewd and cunning men to give the clergy power over the uneducated.

This manuscript, judging from the script, appears to be one of the earlier ones, probably written around 1720.

- 666 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. Critique de Spinoza. Manuscript, [39] l. 18 ½ cm.

An early 18th century manuscript of a free-thinking work by the same hand as, and bound with, my manuscript *L'esprit de Baruck Spinoza* (665). Two manuscripts of the same text in French libraries (Nancy and Mazarine) are entitled *Analyse du Traité de la théologie-politique de Spinoza* and *Dissertation sur l'Écriture Sainte et les prophètes*, respectively. These titles best express the character of my manuscript. Its author explains that in reading the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* he was particularly intrigued by the criticism of the Bible and that on that aspect of Spinoza's thought he would concentrate his work. Thus, while sometimes penetrating to general principles, such as the rejection of prophecy as pure imagination or the rejection of miracles as incompatible with the immutability of the laws of nature, this treatise mostly emphasizes the contradictions and errors in the Biblical text as listed by Spinoza.

In 1767 this work appeared in print as the second part of a book entitled *Doutes sur la religion suivies de l'Analyse du Traité, theologi-politique de Spinoza*,

par le comte de Boulainvilliers (509). The printed version ascribes the work to Boulainvilliers. I accept this authorship. The reasons given by Wade, *The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, p. 112, to doubt it are not compelling.

- 667 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. Traité des trois imposteurs. Manuscript, [1] l., 89 p., [1] l. 23 cm.

An 18th century manuscript of *L'esprit de Spinoza* (665) with the title *Traité des trois imposteurs*. There is some substantive justification for this title; Boulainvilliers' work deals in part with Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, and exposes them as impostors. But the main reason for affixing the new title to the work was most probably "commercial." All over Europe curious scholars and agents for rich collectors were hunting for manuscripts of the fabulous atheistic Latin book *De tribus impostoribus*. Since the Middle Ages rumors about it had been current. A controversy starting in the last decade of the 17th century, whether the book (which nobody had seen) really existed, had revived interest in it and sharpened the appetite for owning a copy. Bernard de la Monnoie had refuted its existence; others vouched for it (see 539). What could be more tempting than making, by way of a title change, *L'esprit de Spinoza* into a treatise on the fraudulent founders of the three great religions!

This manuscript opens with a three-page "Observation sur ce traité" which summarizes the controversy, and a French translation of the fictitious letter of Emperor Frederic II to his friend Otto of Bavaria which was supposed to form the beginning of at least one manuscript of the original *De tribus impostoribus*.

- 668 Boulainvilliers, Henri de. De tribus impostoribus L'esprit de B. Spin. par M. de Boulainvilliers. Manuscript, 87 p., [1] l. 19 cm.

An 18th century manuscript of *L'esprit de Spinoza*, the title of which also names it *De tribus impostoribus*. The fact that both designations are given together — interestingly enough the Latin *De tribus impostoribus* instead of the usual French *Traité des trois imposteurs* — seems to indicate that the originator of this manuscript was somewhat aware of the complex history of the work (see 665).

The last leaf of the manuscript, following the end of the text, lists manuscripts of Boulainvilliers' *Essay de métaphysique dans les principes de Benoist Spinoza* and works by Jean Bodin from the *Catalogue des livres de Mr. [Le] Pelletiers des Forts*. Since this catalogue appeared in 1741, my manuscript must be of a later date.

- 669 [Boulainvilliers, Henri de]. De tribus impostoribus. Or a treatise of the three most famous national impostors. Manuscript, [1] l., 191 p., [1] l. 19 ½ cm.

An 18th century manuscript of an English translation of *Traité des trois imposteurs* (667; see also 665). A previous owner, Joseph Parkes, noted on the flyleaf that he bought the manuscript in 1862 and that it is the only English translation he ever saw of "the famous *Treatise De Tribus Impostoribus*." Parkes is wrong in considering the manuscript a translation of *De tribus impostoribus* (see 667 and 668), but it may be safely assumed that it is the first English translation of Boulainvillier's *L'esprit de Spinoza* (665), which in the second half of the 18th century was printed a number of times under the title of *Traité des trois imposteurs* (539, 542, 605, 615). The first printed English translation of this work appeared in Dundee, Scotland in 1844; it was republished two years later in New York. However, this printed translation, which was based on the edition of 1776 (542), and that of my manuscript are different.

The opening "Dissertation on this Treatise" is culled from Bernard de la Monnoie's *Sentimens sur le Traité des trois imposteurs* and Peter Friedrich Arpe's (?) *Réponse* to it (539). It is followed by the fictitious letter of Emperor Frederic II to Otto of Bavaria (667).

- 670 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. Autograph draft of letter to Elise Reimar and Johann Albert Heinrich Reimar. [Berlin], November 18th, 1783. 3 p. 34 cm.

Elise Reimar (1735–1805), the learned daughter of Hermann Samuel Reimar (463, 536), was a close friend of Lessing, Mendelssohn and Jacobi, and acted as liaison between the latter two in the controversy about Lessing's Spinozism (see 564). She and her brother, Johann Albert Heinrich Reimar (1729–1814), a physician, are the "Schwester und Bruder in Geist und Wahrheit" to whom this letter is addressed. Showing many corrections and insertions, this draft differs slightly from Mendelssohn's actual letter (in the possession of the Mendelssohn family and published in *Moses Mendelssohn's gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5, Leipzig, 1844, pp. 699 ff.).

Mendelssohn wrote this letter after he had studied Jacobi's detailed report to him, dated November 4, 1783, of the discussion about Spinoza between the latter and Lessing, which was published in Jacobi's *Briefe ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1785, pp. 7–48 (564). He confesses he was wrong in not taking Jacobi seriously. He asks Elise to express his apologies to Jacobi for not having answered him. He is not sure he fully understood Jacobi's argumentation. He liked Goethe's poem "Prometheus," but considers it a good persiflage of the Spinozistic system in all its nakedness. He cites his sickness and resignedly states that he just does not have the strength anymore to understand the sophistries of a new-fangled philosophy to which he can respond only with old-fashioned reasoning. He suggests that perhaps Johann Albert Heinrich Reimar might want to undertake this task.

- 671 **Mendelssohn**, Moses. First, partly autograph, draft of part of *Morgenstunden oder Vorlesungen ueber das Daseyn Gottes*. [Second half of 1784 or first half of 1785]. 4 p. 35 cm.

Mendelssohn began writing the *Morgenstunden* (567) in the summer of 1784 and finished the manuscript in June 1785. He was often sick during this period; sometimes his eyesight failed him. For this reason, part of the draft was dictated; however all the lengthy insertions and the final portion of this fragment are in Mendelssohn's hand.

This fragment represents pp. 251–258 of the first edition of the *Morgenstunden*; the manuscript differs in part from the printed version. It examines the "All is one" and the "One is all" of the Spinozists, clarifies the position of "refined pantheism," and tries to reconcile its ideas with Mendelssohn's views on religion and morality. Only a subtle difference without much practical effect, Mendelssohn states, separates the views of the refined pantheists from his own.

- 672 **Meslier**, Jean. *Memoire des sentimens de Jean Meslier curé d'Etrépigny*. [Second title:] *Memoire des pensées et sentimens de Jean Meslier prêtre et curé d'Etrépigny et de But en Champagne, sur une partie des abus et des erreurs de la religion chretienne, pour être adressé à ses paroissiers après sa mort, et pour leur servir de temoignage de verité à eux et à leurs semblables*. Manuscript, [4] l., 146 p. 26 cm.

During his life time, Jean Meslier (1664–1729) was the priest of a small parish in the Champagne; his writing, which made him a major figure in the anti-religious movement of the 18th century, became known, as he had intended, only years after his death. His change from orthodox curé to savage critic of Christianity began to take form when, in 1718, he read Fénelon's *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu* and Abbé Tournemine's anti-Spinozistic preface to it (222). He filled the margins of the book with outspoken notes criticizing both Fénelon and Tournemine, revealing in the process his Spinozistic and materialistic trend of thought. A few years later, Meslier began to write his *Testament* which grew into an enormous atheistic tome. A small number of copies exist in French libraries. A few manuscripts of an extract from Meslier's *Testament*, utilizing merely the first part of the *Testament* which consisted of three parts, are extant. Mine is such a manuscript.

Ira O. Wade has made a painstaking analysis of the manuscripts in French libraries (*The clandestine organization and diffusion of philosophic ideas in France from 1700 to 1750*, 1938, pp. 65–93). Judging from it, my manuscript is similar to the manuscript Arsenal 2559, most complete among those of the *Extrait* examined by Wade, which rigidly follows the structure of Meslier's work. It was this kind of manuscript, as Wade proves, and possibly ours, as I

will show, which was published by Voltaire in 1762 under the title *Extrait des Sentimens de Meslier*, called by Theodore Besterman "one of Voltaire's most influential works — for he can fairly be said to have made it his own" (*Voltaire's Correspondence* edited by Theodore Besterman, vol. 48, Geneva, 1959, p. xxiii).

Prior to 1762, the name of Meslier was practically unknown in France. Voltaire first heard of Meslier in 1735 through his friend Nicolas Claude Thiériot (1696–1772): "Comment un curé et un français, aussi philosophe que Loke? Ne pouvez vous point m'envoyer le manuscrit?" (November 30, 1735; *Voltaire's Correspondence*, vol. 4, 1954).

It is thus clear that Thiériot possessed or had access to a manuscript in 1735 and twenty-seven years later, in 1762, when the *Extrait* appeared in print, Thiériot again is quoted by Voltaire as the person completely conversant with Meslier manuscripts. "Il y a quinze à vingt ans qu'on vendait le manuscrit de cet ouvrage [i.e. of the *Extrait*] huit louis d'or. C'était un très-gros in 4°; il y en a plus de cent exemplaires dans Paris. Frère Thiériot est très au fait. On ne sait qui a fait l'extrait, mais il est tiré tout entier mot pour mot de l'original" (Voltaire to Etienne Noël Damilaville, February 6, 1762, *Correspondence*, vol. 48, 1959, p. 81).

Before my manuscript came into the famous library of Jean Baptiste Huzard (1755–1839), veterinarian and president of the schools of Lyon and Alfort, and later into the possession of François Vincent Raspail (1794–1878), the chemist and politician, it belonged to the library of Hyacinthe-Théodore Baron (1707–1787), dean of the medical faculty in Paris, who was a great collector of books and manuscripts. At least for some time after the middle of August, 1760, Thiériot lived in Baron's house. "Qu'esce que vous faites chez le médecin Baron?" Voltaire inquired in a letter to Thiériot of August 11, 1760 (*Voltaire's Correspondence*, vol. 43, 1959, p. 38). Subsequent letters are addressed to "M. Tiriot chez monsieur Baron medecin" (September 9, and September 23, 1760, *ibid.*, pp. 123, 170). Is it not possible, asks a note by a later owner of the manuscript, that Baron obtained this manuscript from Thiériot? Indeed, Voltaire's letter to Damilaville, unknown to that owner, makes it highly probable that Baron thus obtained the manuscript, and therefore the possibility cannot be excluded that my manuscript was used for Voltaire's edition.

The extract of Meslier's *Testament* states that all religions in general are nothing but errors, illusions, and impostures. They are the source of trouble and division. The Bible is full of contradictions. The miracles are not "véritable." Religion has provided the reasons and the justification for political systems of exploitation. Christian religion is responsible for the annihilation of half of the human race. Meslier concludes with the wish that God recall men to that simple natural religion which brings about a universe of good citizens. Spinozistic borrowings are evident in many parts of the manuscript, particu-

larly in the parts criticizing the Scriptures, but Meslier's materialistic interpretation of Nature, to which he progressed from the kind of Spinozism which he exhibited in his critique of Fénelon and Tournemine, and which is present in the full text of the *Testament*, is not included in the extract.

- 673 Reimarus, Elise. Autograph letter to Moses Mendelssohn. Hamburg, April 10, [17]84. 4 p. 19 cm.

With this letter, which is unpublished, Elise Reimarus (see 670) returns Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi's long report to Mendelssohn of November 4, 1783. Mendelssohn had sent it to her because Elise's brother wanted to study it, and Elise had made a copy for him. Her brother, Elise announces, will tell Mendelssohn what he thinks about it as soon as he finds the time. But, she notes, the recently published book by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez, *Benedikt von Spinoza nach Leben und Lehren*, has strengthened her brother's inclination "to hide from the world, if possible, Lessing's Spinozistic opinions."

The same information was given to Jacobi by Elise Reimarus in a letter quoted in the second edition of *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza*, 1789, pp. 71f. (591); see also the reprint in Jacobi's *Werke*, vol. 41, 1819, pp. 97 f. (644), where the names of Diez and Elise's brother, omitted in 1789, are spelled out.

- 674 [Stosch, Friedrich Wilhelm]. *Concordia rationis et fidei sive harmonia philosophiae moralis et religionis christianae*. Die 1. mens: Maii anno 1692. Manuscript, [121] l. 18½ cm.

The anonymous author of *Concordia rationis et fidei* is Friedrich Wilhelm Stosch (1646–1704), a court official in Berlin. The *Concordia* was his first work. One hundred copies were privately printed for distribution to his friends. In 1693 through indiscretion a few copies were sold in Berlin. Immediately the book was denounced as atheistic, Socinian and Spinozistic. Threatened with severe penalties, the owners of the book were ordered to turn in their copies to the authorities. Stosch was arrested and all copies of the book found were publicly burned. In 1694, Stosch was reinstated to his office after he retracted his heterodox opinions.

This public commotion and the rarity of the book (I know of only one copy, in the Berlin State Library) caused it to be copied by hand and distributed secretly. Mine is such a copy, written in a beautiful hand. A note in the manuscript tells about the fate of author and book: "Noteworthy is the commotion which arose about this book in Jena where a copy fell into the hands of Professor Sagittarius. He and one of his colleagues to whom he showed it were frightened as though outcasts from hell had come to them and Jena was to perish."

Stosch's book attempts to syncretize modern philosophy, physics and theology. It quotes Spinoza and amply uses his ideas and terminology. Many passages are summaries or paraphrases of parts of Spinoza's *Ethica*. The book opens with a Spinozistic pantheistic prayer, "Summe Deus ens perfectissimum, unica et sola substantia, a quo, ex quo, et in quo omnia sunt, [etc.]."

Works by Benedictus de Spinoza

Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae

- 675 **Renati des Cartes Principiorum philosophiae** pars I, & II, more geometrico demonstratae per Benedictum de Spinoza Amstelodamensem. Accesserunt ejusdem Cogitata metaphysica, in quibus difficiliores, qua tam in parte metaphysices generali, quam speciali occurrunt, quaestiones breviter explicantur. Amsterdam: Johann Rieuwerts [Jan Rieuwerts], 1663. [8] l., 140 p. 20 cm.

The first printed book of Spinoza and the only one bearing his name. The preface is by Lodewijk Meyer, author of *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*, 1666 (3) and the Latin poem following it by Iohannes Bouwmeester, M.D., both friends of Spinoza in Amsterdam. Jarig Jelles, another member of Spinoza's circle, paid for the printing.

- 676 **Renatus des Cartes Beginzelen der wysbegeerte**, I en II deel, na den meetkonstige wijze bewezen door Benedictus de Spinoza, Amsterdammer. Mitsgaders des zelfs Overnatuurkundige gedachten, in welke de zwaarste geschillen, die zoo in't algemeen, als in't byzonder deel der overnatuurkunde ontmoeten, Kortelyk werden verklaart. Alles uit 't Latijn vertaalt door P[ieter] B[alling]. Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts, 1664. [6] l., 168 p., [3] l. 20 cm.

Dutch translation by Pieter Balling (46) done in collaboration with Spinoza who made revisions in the text and inserted a number of additions.

Tractatus theologico-politicus

- 677 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1670. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

The genuine first edition (T.₁) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 15), sometimes called the first issue of the first edition, which appeared late in 1669 or

early in 1670. It spells the fictitious publisher's name "Kuenraht," contains all the typographical errors enumerated in the list of errata and misprints page 104 as 304.

- 678 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1672. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

The genuine second edition (T.₂) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 17). Its title page is identical with T.₁, excepting the last line which shows the year 1672. It contains the list of errata on the last page; however, six of the thirteen typographical errors enumerated in it have been corrected in the text. A number of other typographical errors of T.₁ have been remedied; on the other hand, some Latin and Hebrew words and phrases printed correctly in T.₁ are misspelled or rendered incorrectly. T.₂ is easily recognizable by three typographical errors: p. 42 reads 24, page 207 reads 213, Cap. XIV on page 161 reads Cap. XVI.

Only four copies of this edition are recorded.

- 679 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1670 [1672]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 ½ cm.

The redated second edition (T._{2A}) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 17 f.); identical with T.₂, excepting the year of publication which is given as 1670. For reasons of prudence, the printer reset the last line of T.₂ and changed the year back to that of the first edition to avoid evidence of a new edition. This ruse was also employed in the later editions T.₄ and T.₅.

- 680 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenraht [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1673. Followed by: *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres; exercitatio paradoxa*, in qua, veram philosophiam infallibilem s. literas interpretandi normam esse, apodicticè demonstratur, & discrepantes ab hac sententiae expenduntur, ac refelluntur. . . . [by Lodewijk Meyer]. Eleutheropoli [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwerts], 1673. [11] l., 334 p., [2 white leaves], [9] l., 182 p., [10] l. 16 ½ cm.

The third (octavo) edition of the *Tractatus*, published in conjunction with Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3). This issue has an undisguised cancel title for each work (T.₃T) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 24). Only two copies are recorded.

- 681 **Tractatus theologico-politicus**, cui adjunctus est *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. Ab autore longé emendator. N.p., 1674. [11] l., 334 p., [2 white leaves], [8] l., 182 p., [10] l. 17 cm.

The third (octavo) edition of the *Tractatus* published in conjunction with Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (6) in an issue which has the "English" cancel title listing both works (T.₃E) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 20 ff.).

- 682 **Tractatus theologico-politicus**, cui adjunctus est *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres*. Ab autore longé emendator. N.p., 1674. [11] l., 334 p., [2 white leaves], [9] l., 182 p., [10] l. 17 cm.

The third (octavo) edition of the *Tractatus* published in conjunction with Lodewijk Meyer's *Philosophia S. Scripturae interpres* (3) in an issue which has the "English" cancel title. However, in my copy (T.₃E/H) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 24) the original spurious title to the latter work was not removed but left by mistake. This title reads: *Danielis Heinsii p.p. Operum historicorum collectio secunda. Editio secunda, priori editione multo emendatior & auctior accedunt quaedam hactenus inedita. Lugd. Batav. apud Isaacum Herculis 1673.*

Only one other such copy is recorded.

- 683 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenrath [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1670 [after 1677]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

The fourth edition (T.₄) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 24 f.), which appeared after 1677. It spells the publisher's name "Kuenrath", contains the list of errata and follows T.₂ in correcting some of them. It can be easily recognized by the misprint 830, in the numbering of page 130. Like T.₂ it created further mistakes in the text.

- 684 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli

non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenrath [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1670 [after 1677]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

The fifth edition (T.₅) (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 25). It has the spelling "Kuenrath" as in T.₄; but the list of errata is omitted and two more of the original and many of the other errors are corrected; page 192 is misnumbered as 92; and, whereas all the previous quarto editions show the same vignette at the end of the "Praefatio," T.₅ has a new and different one, a flower basket.

- 685 **Tractatus theologico-politicus** continens dissertationes aliquot, quibus ostenditur libertatem philosophandi non tantum salva pietate, & reipublicae pace posse concedi: sed eandem nisi cum pace reipublicae, ipsaque pietate tolli non posse. . . . Hamburg: Henricus Kuenrath [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1670 [after 1677]. [6] l., 233, [1] p. 20 cm.

A copy of the *Tractatus* which is composed of sheets of T.₄ as well as T.₅ (T.₄/5), which indicates that the publisher kept, for some time at least, a continuous stock of sheets of the book and had new sheets printed while the previous issue was not entirely used up (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, p. 25).

Only one other such copy, made up of sheets of T.₂ and T.₄, is recorded.

Other Works

- 686 **La clef du santuaire** par un sçavant homme de nôtre siecle. La ou est l'esprit de Dieu, là est la liberté, 2 Epitre aux Corinthiens chap. 3. vers. 17. Leiden: Pierre Warnae, 1678. [16] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 13 cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain (d. before 1685), a French Protestant refugee to the Netherlands where he served at some time as a captain to the States of Holland and was later editor of the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. Added to the translation are "Remarques curieuses et nécessaires pour l'intelligence de ce livre," translated from annotations by Spinoza which most probably Saint-Glain, who belonged to Spinoza's intimate circle, had received from the philosopher who had written them in the margins of his copy of the *Tractatus*; see my notes on Spinoza, *Adnotationes*, 1802 (694).

Saint-Glain's translation of 1678 appeared in various issues under three different fictitious titles; some copies have two or all three. My collection contains four variants with seven different title pages (see Bamberger, *The early editions*, pp. 31 f.).

Henri Morelli, a Jewish physician turned Catholic, who was a friend of Gabriel de Saint-Glain, told Des Maizeaux, the annotator of Bayle's letters, that the original title used for the translation was *La clef du santuaire*. This title, how-

ever, created such a commotion that it was decided to change it to *Traité des ceremonies* and *Réflexions curieuses* (687–689); see Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses*, vol. 4, 1737, p. 574, note to letter XXXIII (342).

- 687 **Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs** tant anciens que modernes. Amsterdam: Jacob Smith, 1678. [15] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 12½ cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain with the *Traité* title; otherwise it is identical with the *La clef* issue (686).

- 688 **Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs** tant anciens que modernes. Amsterdam: Jacob Smith, 1678. [Second title:] *Reflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier*. Cologne: Claude Emanuel, 1678. [Third title:] *La clef du santuaire par un sçavant de nôtre siecle*. . . . Leiden: Pierre Warnae, 1678. [17] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 13 cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain with all three titles (686). The first two title pages are cancels and the first and third differ from those of the two preceding issues (different type sizes, different spacing and different title vignettes); otherwise it is identical with them.

- 689 **Réflexions curieuses d'un esprit des-interressé** sur les matieres les plus importantes au salut, tant public que particulier. Cologne: Claude Emanuel, 1678. [Second title:] *Traité des ceremonies superstitieuses des Juifs* tant anciens que modernes. Amsterdam: Jacob Smith, 1678. [16] l., 531, [30], 30 p. 14 cm.

French translation of the *Tractatus* by Gabriel de Saint-Glain with the *Réflexions* and *Traité* titles (686–688).

This issue is a new printing in its entirety. The title pages — the first is a cancel — are different from the corresponding ones in my other copies and a better type is used throughout. This issue can be easily identified by the misprint “PREEACE” on l. 10 verso of the preface.

- 690 **A treatise partly theological, and partly political**, containing some few discourses to prove that the liberty of philosophizing (that is making use of natural reason) may be allow'd without any prejudice to piety, or to the peace of any common-wealth; and that the loss of public peace and religion it self must necessarily follow, where such a liberty of reasoning is taken away . . . Translated out of Latin. London, 1689. [15] l., 452 p. 17½ cm.

The first complete English translation of the *Tractatus*. The introduction of the unknown translator shows his full awareness of the reception the translation

would receive, but, he says, clergymen and lawyers have uttered doctrines more harmful to society. The translation was soon suppressed.

A new title issue of this translation appeared in 1737 (691).

- 691 **A treatise partly theological, and partly political**, containing some few discourses, to prove that the liberty of philosophizing (that is making use of natural reason) may be allowed without any prejudice to piety, or to the peace of any commonwealth. And that the loss of public peace and religion itself must necessarily follow, where such a liberty of reasoning is taken away . . . Translated from the Latin of Spinoza. London: Sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1737. [15] l., 452 p. 18 cm.

A new title issue of the first complete English translation of the *Tractatus*, appearing forty-four years after its publication in 1689 (690). The 1689 issue was anonymous; the title page of this one, a cancel, gives the name of Spinoza.

- 692 Benedikt's von Spinoza **Theologisch-politische Abhandlungen** neu uebersetzt mit den von Hrn. v. Murr herausgegebenen Anmerkungen des Verfassers zu diesem Traktat, einer einleitenden Vorrede und einigen Anmerkungen begleitet von Carl Philipp Conz. . . . Stuttgart: Joh. Friedrich Steinkopf, 1806. 76 p., [2] l., 424 p., [2] l. 20½ cm.

German translation of the *Tractatus*. The translator, Carl Philipp Conz (579) began the translation for his personal use prior to the publication in 1802/3 of Spinoza's works by Paulus (701), and decided to publish it because he felt it was dishonest of scholars to hide behind a learned language understood only by few. Conz' adoration of Spinoza is deep; his fragment on Spinoza's teachings (pp. LI–LXXVI) concludes with a “welcome” to Spinozism which Conz regards as compatible with revelation. Spinoza's annotations are reprinted from Murr's edition of 1802 (694).

- 693 **Theologisch-politische Abhandlungen** von Spinoza. Freye Uebersetzung und mit Anmerkungen begleitet von Dr. J.A. Kalb. Munich: Joseph A. Finsterlin, 1826. 98, 432, [1] p. 21½ cm.

A free, very readable though not always faithful German translation of the *Tractatus* by J.A. Kalb, a liberal Bavarian Protestant. The translator added a long glowing laudation of Spinoza, “the Plato of all centuries,” and annotations which stressed subservience of reason to religion as a commendable goal. Although Kalb at the end of his preface declares his willingness to retract his opinions should the authorities feel they were contrary to the public good, the Bavarian police promptly confiscated the book.

- 694 Benedicti de Spinoza *Adnotationes ad Tractatum theologicum politicum*. Ex autographo edidit ac praefatus est, addita notitia scriptorum philosophi, Christophorus Theophilus de Murr... Cum imagine et chirographo. The Hague [Nuernberg], 1802. Portrait, 44 p., facsimile of Spinoza letter. 23 1/2 cm.

First publication in their original Latin form of Spinoza's manuscript annotations on the *Tractatus* (pp. 33–43); see my notes on the French translation of 1678 (668). Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1733–1811), a polymath and book collector in Nuernberg who already as a young man had searched in Holland for Spinoza's lost *Apology*, devoted the first part of his book to valuable biographical and iconographical data pertaining to Spinoza.

Opera posthuma

- 695 B.d.S. *Opera posthuma*, quorum series post praefationem exhibetur. N.p. [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1677. [20] l., 614 p., [17] l., 112 p., [4] l. 20 cm.

Opera posthuma contains all of Spinoza's unpublished works, namely, *Ethica*; *Tractatus politicus*; *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione*; *Epistolae*; and *Compendium grammaticae linguae ebraeae*. One day before Spinoza's death the manuscripts of these works had been removed from Spinoza's room by his friends to be turned over to Jan Rieuwertsz. Jarig Jelles became the editor; Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker translated the preface into Latin.

See also 696.

- 696 B.d.S. *Opera posthuma*, quorum series post praefationem exhibetur. N.p. [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1677. [20] l., 614 p., [17] l., 112 p., [4] l. 20 1/2 cm.

One of the few copies of the *Opera posthuma* (695) containing Spinoza's portrait. Ernst Alt Kirch, *Spinoza im Portrait*, 1913, pp. 61–63, deals with the problems presented by this portrait which became the model for many later engravings.

- 697 *De nagelate schriften* van B.d.S. als Zedekunst, Staatkunde, Verbetering van't verstant, Brieven en antwoorden. Uit verscheide talen in de Nederlandsche gebragt. N.p. [Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz], 1677. [24] l., portrait, 666 p., [1] l. 20 1/2 cm.

Dutch translation of Spinoza's *Opera posthuma* (695). It was printed simultaneously with the Latin edition and it is possible, although not certain, as Carl Gebhardt concludes (Spinoza, *Opera*, Heidelberg, [1925], vol. 2, p. 315), that the translation had been prepared during Spinoza's life-time. It is certain, however, that the translation, probably by Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker, was not made from the texts as printed in the *Opera posthuma*, but from manuscripts of Spinoza predating them.

The *Nagelate schriften* are very rare. Because it was written in the vernacular, the book was effectively suppressed. My copy is one of those even rarer ones containing the portrait of Spinoza which one finds inserted in a limited number of the *Opera posthuma* (696); it has, at that, Dutch verses carefully pasted over the original Latin caption.

Ethica

- 698 B.v.S. *Sittenlehre*, widerleget von dem beruehmten Weltweisen unserer Zeit Herrn Christian Wolf. Aus dem Lateinischen uebersetzt. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1744. Portrait, 56, 598, 128 p. 17 cm.

The first German translation of the *Ethica*. The translator, Johann Lorenz Schmidt, who also had translated the Wertheim Bible, 1735 (332) and was persecuted on account of the "atheism" of that translation, lived under an assumed name at Altona while he translated the *Ethica*. Probably as a safeguard, Schmidt added to the translation the refutation of the *Ethica* from Christian Wolff's *Theologia naturalis* (353).

The portrait of Spinoza is probably by J.G. Wolfgang (1664–1744), an engraver in Berlin.

- 699 Benedikt von Spinoza's *Ethik* nebst Briefen welche sich auf die Gegenstaende der Ethik beziehen aus dem Lateinischen uebersetzt von Friedr. Wilh. Valent. Schmidt... Erster Band. Die Ethik enthaltend. Berlin und Stettin: Friedrich Nicolai, 1812. 8, 431, [1] p. 22 1/2 cm.

German translation of the *Ethica*; the second volume which was to contain the letters never appeared. Friedrich Wilhelm Valentin Schmidt (d. 1831), a professor of modern languages at the Berlin University, was the first to examine the Latin text critically. The translation is excellent; Berthold Auerbach used it, with a few changes, in his edition of the works (1841 and 1871).

Tractatus de intellectus emendatione and Tractatus politicus

- 700 Benedikt von Spinoza. *Zwey Abhandlungen* ueber die Kultur des menschlichen Verstandes und ueber die Aristokratie und Demokratie. Herausgegeben und mit einer Vorrede begleitet von S[chack] H[ermann] Ewald. ... Leipzig: Schoenfeld, 1785. 16, 263 p. 16 cm.

First German translation of *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* (pp. 1–96) and *Tractatus politicus* (pp. 97–263). The translator, Schack Hermann Ewald

(1745–1822), a jurist and court secretary of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, made a name for himself as a poet and scholar; a few years later, he began a German translation of all of Spinoza's work (702).

Collected Works

- 701 Benedicti de Spinoza **Opera** quae supersunt omnia. Iterum edenda curavit, praefationes; vitam auctoris, nec non notitias, quae ad historiam scriptorum pertinent addidit Henr. Eberh. Gottlob Paulus. . . . Jena: In bibliopolio academico, 1802–1803. 2 vols. 24, 24, 700 p.; portrait, 40, 680 p. 21 cm.

Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (1761–1851), a professor of philosophy and theology at the University of Jena and later of Heidelberg, is known as a friend of the young and adversary of the old Schelling. His edition of Spinoza's works was prompted by two main considerations, the rarity of the original editions and the conviction that no true picture of Spinoza could be gained from Bayle and other routine sources. Thus the merits of Paulus' edition are that it made easily available to the Spinoza research of the next decades the texts of Spinoza's writings as well as a rich collection of biographical material (*Collectanea de vita B. de Spinoza*, vol. 2, pp. 590–680).

The portrait is an engraving by Johann Heinrich Lips (1758–1817), a Swiss painter and engraver.

- 702 Spinoza's **Philosophische Schriften**. (Erster Band: Benedikt von Spinoza ueber Heilige Schrift, Judenthum, Recht der hoechsten Gewalt in geistlichen Dingen, und Freyheit zu philosophiren. Aus dem Lateinischen. [Vol. 2:] Spinoza's Ethik Erster Theil; [vol. 3:] Spinoza's Ethik. Zweiter Theil.) Gera: Christoph Friedrich Bekmann, 1787–1793. 3 vols. [1] l., 22 p., [4] l., 456 p.; [1] l., 62, 182 p.; [1] l., 299 p. 19 cm.

The translator is Schack Hermann Ewald. His is the first attempt of a collection of Spinoza's works in German. The three volumes which appeared include the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (vol. 1) and the first two parts of the *Ethica* (vols. 2 and 3). Earlier, in 1785, Ewald had published a German translation of the *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* and the *Tractatus politicus* (700).

Although he precedes his translation of the *Ethica* with Christian Wolff's refutation (353) and interjects the text with critical notes in which he tries to refute Spinoza by the means of Kant's philosophy (p. xxxix), Ewald is an enthusiastic admirer of Spinoza. To him, Spinoza was a "dear, good, noble and pious — but also an enlightened man," (vol. 1, p. 111) who "taught the purest Christ religion" (p. v), and he foresees a time in which Spinoza will serve as a

strong support to the Scriptures and to true Christian faith (p. 111).

A partly new re-issue of this edition is of 1787–1796 (703).

- 703 Spinoza's **Philosophische Schriften**. (Erster Band: Benedikt von Spinoza ueber Heilige Schrift, Judenthum, Recht der hoechsten Gewalt in geistlichen Dingen, und Freyheit zu philosophiren. Aus dem Lateinischen; Zweyter Band. Neue unveraenderte Auflage: Spinoza's Ethik Erster Theil; Dritter Band. Neue unveraenderte Auflage: Spinoza's Ethik Zweyter Theil.) Gera: Christoph Friedrich Bekmann, 1787 (vol. 1); Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Boehme, 1796 (vols. 2 and 3). 3 vols. [1] l., 22 p., [4] l., 456 p.; [2] l., 62, 182 p.; [2] l., 299 p. 19½ cm.

Vols. 2 and 3 are new title issues, but otherwise identical with the first edition, 1787–1793 (702).

- 704 Benedicti de Spinoza **Opera philosophica omnia** edidit et praefationem adjecit A. Gfroerer. . . . Stuttgart: B. Mezler, 1830. (Corpus philosophorum optimaе notae, qui ab restauratione litterarum ad Kantium usque floruerunt . . . Tomus 111). 78, 664 p., plates. 20 cm.

August Friedrich Gfroerer (1803–1861), a German historian, was at the time he prepared his Spinoza edition a librarian in Stuttgart. The volume contains the works printed in the *Opera* edited by Paulus in 1802/3 (701), excepting the Hebrew grammar. It also presents a reprint of Colerus' Spinoza biography (157) with additions and corrections from other sources.

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